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Bogachev on NATO Nuclear Weapon Modernization

LD1704175289 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 17 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

Faced with serious opposition to the plans of the modernisation of U.S. short-range nuclear weapons, a number of NATO leaders in Europe and the U.S. made calls for the quest of "compromise solutions".

In this connection it will not be amiss to recall a funny story popular in the USA, of a car salesman who promised to sell his customers' automobiles of any colour provided they are black.

It is in the same way that those NATO leaders who declare in favour of "compromises" now express the readiness to accept "any proposals" concerning schedules and scopes of the modernisation of nuclear weapons on one condition, that new U.S. missiles should immediately be created and deployed in Western Europe.

Going by a report of the West German ZDF [Mainz television] Washington is prepared to meet the FRG Government half-way and not to insist on the adoption of the decision of the modernisation of nuclear weapons at the May session of the NATO Council at the summit level.

Instead of that, Washington intends that the decision on the modernisation be endorsed by defence ministers of NATO countries at a session of the Nuclear Planning Group which starts in Brussels on April 19. It is thus only the venue of making the decision on modernisation that is the point of the matter, while the essence of the planned nuclear rearming of the alliance is to remain unchanged.

The Pentagon makes assurances to the West European public that all it needs is a "sign" of the Allies' consent to the modernisation to be supplied by the U.S. Congress with the necessary funds expressly for the development of new missiles. NATO officials pretend that such a "sign" does not presuppose the ultimate decision on NATO nuclear rearming in Western Europe.

Meanwhile, the governments of NATO member-countries in Europe are now faced by Washington with the choice of either complying with the demands of the senior partner of the alliance and effecting nuclear rearming, or taking the road of consolidating security in Europe by negotiations with countries of the socialist community.

The decision to create new U.S. missiles with a range of 480 kilometres, no matter whether it is made at the NATO Council session at the summit level in May or by the Nuclear Planning Group in April will be a step to nuclear modernisation which is fraught with the aggravation of problems of security for all European countries.

Galvin Cited on NATO Missile Modernization

LD2704230389 Moscow in English to North America 1900 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Speaking in an interview for the West German magazine DER SPIEGEL the NATO Commander in Chief in Europe General John Galvin has said that the United States must open the production of short-range nuclear missiles of a new generation. And here's commentary by Sergey Sayenko:

Although General Galvin said that any decision on deploying these missiles is a bit premature, he made it clear that in his opinion the new missiles should eventually replace "Lance" missiles on battle stations now. He said the new missiles will be superior to "Lance" in accuracy and range. General Galvin supported his case by saying that the Soviet Union had supposedly fully modernized its missiles of short-range.

General Galvin didn't mention the fact, however, that NATO's new missiles would have a range of 480 km, whereas the range of "Lance" missiles is 120. A range of 480 km will put these missiles pretty close to the limit imposed on intermediate missiles by the Soviet-American INF Treaty. NATO strategists point to the need to close what they call vulnerability windows by the deployment of the new missiles, and according to them, these windows appeared as a result of the INF Treaty. But NATO does not mention the fact that the proposed modernization plan will increase NATO's strength in that category of weapons eight times, and give it an overall superiority of 2-1 in central Europe.

There are enough nuclear weapons in Europe to kill all life on the continent several times over. This is understood in Western Europe: the public and government of West Germany, Belgium, and other countries are opposed to the proposed modernization plans: a number of anti-nuclear demonstrations have taken place in Britain—one of them was timed to coincide with the 40th anniversary of NATO.

The NATO Nuclear Planning Group will open a 2-day session in Brussels tomorrow to consider General Galvin's report on short-range missiles. What will be its decision tomorrow to consider General Galvin's report on short-range missiles? What will be its decision? What will be NATO's response to the recent Warsaw Treaty proposal for opening separate talks on tactical—that is short-range—nuclear weapons? So far only Belgium has supported the idea of the talks. Will other NATO countries follow suit?

NATO Response on Tactical Arms Scored

PM1404172189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Apr 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by TASS military observer Vladimir Chernyshev: "Who Is Afraid of Talks"]

[Text] In a special statement adopted at the latest session of the foreign ministers committee in Berlin (11-12 April this year), Warsaw Pact member states proposed to NATO countries that separate talks on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including the nuclear component of dual-purpose systems, be opened in the near future. In the socialist countries' opinion, it would be possible to open special consultations without delay with a view to discussing preparations for the proposed talks, their mandate, and who will participate.

The new forum would, undoubtedly, substantially complement the talks on the continent's conventional forces which opened in Vienna last month, since it is impossible to ensure stability and security in Europe and remove once and for all the danger of a surprise attack while there remain on European soil tactical nuclear weapons which have a tremendous destructive potential and could trigger an all-out nuclear conflict, with all its consequences.

A statement made on the other side of the Atlantic, in Washington, by NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner after his meeting with U.S. President George Bush, was in sharp discord with the socialist countries' proposal. The political leader of the North Atlantic alliance essentially rejected the socialist countries' appeal. Noting that the Warsaw Pact has 14 times as many tactical nuclear missiles (in actual fact it is 11.8 times as many—V.Ch.), he "proposed" to the Warsaw Pact that it embark on their reduction unilaterally, if, as he put it, the Warsaw Pact countries "are that interested" in the elimination of this class of weapons.

So, in Woerner's opinion what is needed is "unilateral reductions" on the part of the Warsaw Pact, rather than talks. It would appear that this "proposal" by the NATO representative conceals "a little cunning" above all else. It is well known that in the past, commenting on any unilateral steps of the Soviet Union in the disarmament sphere and trying to belittle their political and military significance, he usually claimed that any such measures carried out unilaterally are "impossible to verify" and that therefore NATO must not "lower its guard" but continue "equipping and upgrading its arms." Clearly, on this occasion, too, he is hoping for a similar "interpretation" of events. Participation in talks would do away completely with any such calculations. After all, the Warsaw Pact's invitation to a joint forum contains the proposal also to discuss measures of effective international verification of the reduction and elimination of tactical nuclear wepaons and a complex of confidence- and security-building measures to be applied to these means and to military activity with their involvement.

However, the main point clearly does not lie in these "diversionary maneuvers." The fact is that the very idea of the reduction, not to mention the subsequent complete elimination, of NATO's tactical nuclear weapons in Europe is unacceptable to certain North Atlantic alliance circles. Britain's THE DAILY TELEGRAPH sounds the alarm: The main aim of the Warsaw Pact proposal is to strip Europe of nuclear weapons. And London's THE TIMES backs it up: The nuclear component is very important for the West as an element of its strategy of "flexible response."

Furthermore, Washington and London official circles and the military-political leadership of the North Atlantic alliance are now doing their utmost to "push through" the decision to modernize the bloc's tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. They are all very worried about differences in the NATO camp on this question.

What is the main "threat" which the advocates of the maintenance and modernization of nuclear weapons in Europe perceive in the Warsaw Pact's proposal? The Paris newspaper LIBERATION wrote: "The Warsaw Pact states' proposals are very flexible." It is quite natural that attention in the West has focused on the Warsaw Pact proposal that agreement be reached at the outset that the reduction of nuclear weapons and their elimination be implemented stage by stage. It seems that if it were possible to confine it to only one stage—the elimination of the imbalance in the number of tactical nuclear missiles—then people like Woerner would be quite happy. However—the newspaper THE INDEPENDENT points out—the following circumstance is evoking alarm: If NATO agrees to the talks the Soviet Union will do what it did with the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, that is, it will seek to completely eliminate tactical nuclear weapons, and under pressure from the public it will be difficult to reject the "third zero."

Of course, acceptance of the proposal to hold talks would make all dreams about modernization look like an anachronism. It would be difficult to convince anyone that decisions on improving any type of tactical weapons would not serve as an obstacle to the creation of a favorable political atmosphere at such talks.

Cheney, Woerner Reaction Viewed

PM1704142589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Apr 89 Second Edition p 5

[Vitaliy Korionov "Viewpoint": "Without Wasting Time"]

[Text] Political life in the world today is seething with activity. At its focus is the quest for new ways to resolve the main task of the day—building a nuclear-free world.

These efforts have not been futile. Important changes for the better have been achieved in the international situation. The threat of war has been pushed back appreciably. With the entry into force of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the first, albeit modest, steps toward nuclear disarmament have been taken.

However, this is no reason to rest content with what has been achieved. The main thing now is not to lose momentum, and to prevent the process of stopping the arms race and achieving disarmament from grinding to a halt. This is what the efforts of the socialist countries are geared to. The determination to continue to implement a policy aimed at radically improving the situation in Europe and the world was once again reaffirmed by the latest session of the Warsaw Pact member countries' foreign ministers committee in Berlin 11-12 April.

At this session the Warsaw Pact states again demonstrated their constructive approach to the questions which feature on Europe's political agenda. An approach which is backed by concrete proposals and actions.

What are the realities of present-day Europe? Its territory is being freed from intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Yet the threat of a nuclear conflict has not been eliminated, since tactical nuclear weapons remain in Europe. The missiles of this class, which have a radius of up to 500 km, possess a tremendous destructive potential, and are, moreover, deployed in densely populated areas. Essentially they could play the role of a trigger in setting off an all-out nuclear conflict.

Concerned at this, the Warsaw Pact member states have proposed to the member states of the North Atlantic Alliance that separate talks be opened in the near future on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including the nuclear component of dual-purpose systems.

The new initiative of the socialist countries has evoked a tremendous response in Europe. In the words of the British newspaper THE GUARDIAN, the Warsaw Pact proposal deserves "a well-considered, positive response." Unfortunately, the response that is actually coming from Washington and NATO headquarters cannot be described as such.

U.S. Secretary of Defense R. Cheney has hastened to reject the Warsaw Pact member states' proposal. A meeting between M. Woerner, NATO secretary general, and President G. Bush was held in the U.S. capital. After this meeting Woerner said that the proposal of the foreign ministers committee "is not new." Well now, by such a statement he has merely confirmed that the Warsaw Pact countries are implementing a consistent peace-loving, antinuclear policy. "If they are really interested in reducing these weapons," Woerner said, "it would be a good idea if they started by lowering their own potential of short-range nuclear weapons." This formulation of the question is motivated by the familiar claim that the Warsaw Pact countries have more tactical nuclear missiles than NATO countries. But after all, the purpose of the proposed talks is to ascertain the actual correlation of forces and to elaborate a joint approach to the solution of these questions. The NATO representatives' claims that the socialist countries are allegedly trying to "drive a wedge between NATO members" and "separate West Europe from the United States" only bears out one thing. The advocates of nuclear weapons not only do not want to give them up, but are looking for loopholes which would enable them to modernize these weapons.

Meanwhile the realities of the nuclear age enjoin: Wasting time on fruitless arguments is immoral. It is necessary to act!

INF Verification Commission Begins Session

LD1704175989 Moscow TASS in English 1625 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Geneva April 17 TASS—The special verification commission, set up under the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate and Shorter-Range Missiles, began its regular, fourth session in Geneva today.

The commission will examine several legal and technical issues related to the implementation of the treaty.

Soviet, GDR Troops Begin Joint Exercises

LD1504180189 Moscow TASS in English 1751 GMT 15 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin April 15 TASS—The groups of Soviet troops in Germany and the National People's Army of the German Democratic Republic today began joint exercises in the area of Treuenbrietzen, Jessen, Cottbus, Eisenhuettenstadt and Teupitz. The goal of the exercises involving up to 18.5 thousand servicemen is to upgrade field training standards, practice troop control elements and interaction in conditions of defence.

Under the document of the Stockholm conference, observers from all participating countries in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe were invited to the exercises.

Foreign Ministry Official on Berlin Pact Talks

LD1504095489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 14 Apr 89

[From the "International Situation, Questions and Answers" program, presented by Sergey Pravdin, with Yuriy Nikolayevich Zhuravlev, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate]

[Excerpts] [Pravdin] Many listeners ask us to speak in greater detail about the session of the committee of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states, which was held in Berlin. [passage omitted] Yuriy Nikolayevich Zhuravlev, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate, is at our microphone today, and he will answer your questions. The first question, Yuriy Nikolayevich, is this: What prompted the convocation of this session? What was examined there?

[Zhuravlev] It was a routine and regular session of the foreign ministers committee. Despite the fact that it was regular, the committee was held at a very appropriate time and, as they say, at the most needed moment. It was important for the allied states to collate their foreign policy actions with the real situation which is developing, both in Europe and in the world. The pan-European process is gathering pace; the progress in the cause of disarmament is evident. This was shown by the results of the Vienna meeting, which determined the political, military, economic, and humanitarian routes of pan-European cooperation until the year 1991. The first round of talks on confidence-building measures of 35 states-participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the talks of 23 states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons has taken place. The London information forum is next in line.

It would seem that all is proceeding well and that there are no reasons for anxiety. But if one is to cast an unprejudiced glance, without the intention of confusing reality with desire, then one can see another thing, which makes one cautious. The ministers of the allied states pointed directly to the fact that the international situation remains complex and contradictory. NATO puts forward plans for upgrading of arms, modernization of nuclear tactical weapons. The cause of a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons is marking time—this is not our fault—and the ban and elimination of chemical weapons are being delayed. It would seem that the situation is being heated up in places where all conditions have been created for solving problems through political means, and where progress should have been made. I have in mind Afghanistan, and the actions of the United States and Pakistan; there are attempts to impose strong-arm decisions in other regions too. It was all these questions which were a subject of a thorough examination at the session of the foreign ministers committee.

[Pravdin] What are the results of the conference? What documents were adopted?

[Zhuravlev] The ministers of the allied states came to an agreement on and adopted three documents. These are: the communique, which is brief, businesslike and constructive; the statement on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe; and the appeal for a world without wars. The main thought—the main idea passes through all these three documents—how to act in the future in these uneasy conditions. The answer is unambiguous: to continue to develop the political dialogue between East and West on the key questions of world development. This dialogue has yielded its first tangible results, as I have already said. Now it is possible to include more fresh spheres into the mechanism of negotiations, especially those on which security and cooperation in Europe and the future of mankind depend.

The committee of ministers has marked the dialogue on tactical nuclear weapons as priority, and as one of the main directions of this dialogue. Regardless of the kind of nuclear weapons—small, with limited range—they remain nuclear, for all their varieties. Their use, even if only for tactical purposes, will lead to universal nuclear destruction. This is the philosophy of nuclear weapons. The Warsaw Pact member states propose to start in the near future separate negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons, including the nuclear component of dual-purpose weapons. The aim of these negotiations is the stage-by-stage reduction and elimination of these kinds of weapons. Ways of starting the negotiations as quickly as possible are being defined. The Warsaw Pact is ready for immediate special consultations, in the couse of which it would be possible to prepare the talks themselves, to come to an agreement on the mandate and the composition of the participants. NATO and Warsaw Pact nuclear powers, as well as all interested countries belonging to the two European military and political alliances—those which possess tactical nuclear weapons and those which have it on their territory—are invited to the consultations.

So, as you can see, the form of the preparation of the talks is pragmatic and open, and without any kind of preliminary conditions. Moreover, the Warsaw Pact states propose to refrain from any kind of actions which could hamper either the start of the negotiations or the achievement of positive results. Providing a good example, the Soviet Union stated that it does not plan to modernize these weapons.

In September this year, mankind will mark a tragic date in its history: the 50th anniversary of the unleashing of World War II. Recalling this fact, the Warsaw Pact member states are issuing an appeal calling on all states and peoples to think about what happened 50 years ago, about the causes which led to the deaths of dozens of millions of people. They appeal to all states and peoples to strive for general harmony in establishing a world free of wars and weapons, in developing cooperation, and creating conditions for the prosperity of mankind.

As you can see, the work of the foreign ministers committee was dominated by optimism and realism, concern for peaceful prosperity of the peoples of their countries, Europe, and the world community.

Bloc Newspaper Chiefs Meet in Havana

PM1404152589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Apr 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Conference in Havana"]

[Text] Havana, 13 Apr—Press participation in the processes of renewal under way in socialist countries is the central topic on the agenda of the conference of chief editors of socialist countries' communist and workers party central organs that opened on Wednesday in Havana's Palace of Congresses. The chiefs of Bulgarian, Hungarian, Vietnamese, GDR, Lao, DPRK, Cuban, Mongolian, Polish, SRV, USSR, and CSSR press organs are taking part in the conference organized by GRANMA, and Angolan and Nicaraguan press representatives have also been invited. V.G. Afanasyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and editor in chief of PRAVDA, is taking part in the work of the journalists forum.

Speaking at the conference opening, GRANMA chief editor E. Roman Hernandez noted that, like all the previous meetings, the Havana meeting will enable its participants to hold fruitful dialogue to strengthen mutual understanding and cooperation among socialist countries' journalists.

The meeting's participants will discuss, among other things, the role of journalism in the socialist countries' joint struggle to establish lasting world peace on the basis of the new political thinking.

News Conference Held on Submarine Accident

Report Expected in June

PM1604185289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Apr 89 Second Edition p 6

[Report by special correspondents A. Khramtsov and N. Cherkashin under the rubric: "Emergency": "Tragedy and Courage"]

[Excerpts] Murmansk, Severomorsk—Any artificial curtain of secrecy over a given event gives rise to inaccurate information and rumors. The tragedy in the Norwegian Sea, where the experimental Soviet submarine "Komsomolets" sank at a depth of more than 1.5 km, is no exception.

At a news conference given for Soviet journalists at the garrison fleet officers institute by members of the state commission investigating the circumstances of the loss of the submarine, which is headed by O. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, many questions received answers that were new to the public. I. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Fleet Admiral V. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy; Fleet Admiral A. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and Admiral V. Panin, chief of the Navy Political Directorate, spoke in detail about the situation that developed on the submarine when it was 180 km from Bear Island.

Today no one would risk indicating the specific causes of the serious fire which broke out in the stern compartment soon after reports reached the submarine's control station that there was "order" in all the compartments. It is difficult as yet to understand the reason for the depressurization of the neighboring compartment, which was penetrated by fire, exacerbating the already very difficult situation for the ship. The reasons for the rapid entry of water from outside [zabortnaya voda] into the compartments, which finally decided the boat's fate, are not known. All this can only be explained, it was noted at the news conference, if and when the boat is raised from the sea bed. Soviet scientists and specialists are already working on this problem, and on an analysis of the scientific and technical errors in the development of the accident situation. One thing is clear: In a critical situation one of the best crews in the Soviet Navy's submarine service acted with technical intelligence and extreme courage in the attempt to save the ship, which was resolving not only its immediate tasks on the voyage, but also a whole series of scientific problems, in particular deep-water tests and the study of new materials, in all 12 scientific and technical probelms, including some in the interests of the national economy.

In connection with the fact that some of the foreign mass media are fanning rumors about the "rejection" of assistance from the Norwegian rescue services, Fleet Admiral V. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy, said that these rumors have nothing in common with reality. No foreign ship was nearer to the disaster area than Soviet ships, in particular the factory ship "Aleksey Khlobystov." She was the first to arrive at the scene of the incident, picking up from the water and taking off the raft the crew members who had left the submarine.

Let us note in this connection that the initial curtain of secrecy also prevented the provision of accurate information on the number of seamen taken on board the factory ship. Of the 69 crew members who were on the boat, the fishermen picked up 46 from the water and from the base of the inflatable raft, which overturned on being launched. Of these, 27 are now being treated in the military hospital. We saw 19 in coffins covered with red calico during a funeral ceremony in the remote garrison where the submariners served. [passage omitted]

Now a word about the raising of the submarine. I. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said in this connection:

"Preliminary proposals on the possibility of raising it are now being studied. This can be likened to the most difficult technical project ever carried out in our country or abroad. After all, no readymade technical systems for carrying out such an operation exist in the world today. The final decision on this question will be made later. In approximately June—we cannot do it any earlier—the commission will make a full report on the causes of the loss of the submarine. This will be reported in the press...."

More on Belousov's Remarks

LD1404174889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 14 Apr 89

[Text] As has already been reported, a ceremony for the submariners who died while performing tasks set by their command in the Norwegian Sea was held yesterday at the Northern Fleet garrison officers house. Those present paid their respects to the men's valor. Members of the government commission set up to investigate the causes of the serious accident at sea also attended.

In an interview for a TASS correspondent Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said that at the moment it is still not possible to say what the specific causes of the loss of the submarine are. It has only been established that a very intense fire suddenly erupted in the compartments, starting with the stern compartment. Specialists also suppose that highly pressurized air and possibly the submarine's oil system contributed to the development of the severe situation. A thorough analysis is necessary, in which the leading scientists, designers, and naval specialists appointed to work with the government commission are now engaged. The analysis is also necessary to prevent errors in new projects not only for defense purposes but also for the needs of the country's national economy in mastering the oceans' depths.

Regarding the state of the submarine prior to the voyage, which was its last, the commission's conclusion is unequivocal: The ship was technically sound and prepared to go to sea. The commission also highly appraised the standard of the crew's readiness; at every stage of the struggle against the elements, it acted with valor and resolve. This is confirmed not only by the results of the debriefing of the surviving seamen but also by the transcipt of radio communications which the fleet headquarters maintained with the ship without interruption from the moment the fire erupted until the tragic end.

It has been mentioned more than once in the press that the sunken submarine was experimental. It was used not only for operational training but also for finding answers to many scientific and technical questions. Work was being done on it in completely new directions in various fields of science and technology connected with deep-water experiments in the ocean and the application of unusual materials. The study of at least 12 scientific and technical problems was connected with the ship, and exceptionally important results were obtained regarding many of these problems.

At the moment the commission is studying preliminary proposals for a possible raising of the submarine. This can be compared to the most difficult technical project ever implemented in our country or abroad. At present there are no ready technical resources for carrying out such an operation in the world. The final decision on this issue will be made later.

It is estimated that in June the commission will draw the full conclusions about the causes of the loss of the submarine. This will be reported in the press.

Fleet Admirals Comment

PM1704153389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Apr 89 First Edition p 5

[Report by correspondent Captain Third Rank P. Ishchenko: "Sailors' Courage. Northern Fleet News Conference"]

[Text] A news conference for Soviet journalists was held at the garrison fleet officers house on 13 April. Participating in it were I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy and USSR deputy defense minister; Fleet Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and Admiral V.I. Panin, member of the Military Council and chief of the Navy Political Directorate.

Opening the news conference, I.S. Belousov pointed out that it is the unanimous opinion of all the commission members that the crew of the sunken submarine behaved with exceptional courage. The country can be proud of such people as the submariners who died and those who survived. Speaking of the preliminary conclusions drawn by the state commission, the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers said, first of all, that the submarine crew did even more than it was possible to do in such a situation and struggled to the end, believing in rescue until the last minute and not admitting to themselves the idea that the submarine might perish. The crew had been comprehensively trained for the voyage and for actions in an emergency. It was one of the strongest crews imaginable. As for the condition of the submarine, it was technically sound before put to sea and had been prepared for the voyage.

There is not yet a final conclusion on the reasons for the loss of the submarine. In such a short time only the most realistic versions have so far been prepared. There are four of them. The task is to rule out the incorrect ones. Scientists, designers, and naval specialists are involved in this work. Careful analysis is needed not only to take the conclusions into account when building new ships but also to create special technical means with a view to opening up the ocean depths and resolving other tasks.

The members of the state commission, I.S. Belousov continued, comprehensively discussed the problem of rescuing people at sea. There is a need to revise approaches to its solution and to make proposals for planning new technical rescue facilities. This work will be done in an unusually short time—for we are speaking about people's safety. As has been pointed out, the question of raising the sunken submarine has also been discussed. The technical means for carrying out such an operation do not exist in the world today. A preliminary decision on this will be made in the next few months.

What happened teaches us this lesson: It is inadmissible and impossible to stop improving equipment. It will be necessary to double and redouble our efforts to enhance the reliability of equipment, and not just maritime equipment.

The lost submarine was experimental. Totally new questions were being worked out on it for the first time. In particular, deep-water studies were being conducted and unusual materials were being tested. In all, this ship was linked with the study of 12 scientific and technical problems. Exceptional results were obtained even during the short time of the submarine's operation.

Flt Adm A.I. Sorokin pointed out in his speech to the journalists that not just the Navy and the Soviet Army but the entire people are mourning today. Representatives of six nationalities served in the submarine crew. It was a harmonious, cohesive collective. Those who were the first to come to the submariners' assistance in their misfortune—fleet airmen and ships of the "Sevryba" association—deserve words of gratitude. The party and All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League organizations of the stricken submarine showed their very best side in the emergency. The speaker gave an assurance that all-around concern will be shown for the families of the dead.

Flt Adm V.N. Chernavin, commander of the Navy, pointed out that this meeting with journalists was taking place at a time when mourning had been declared in the Northern Fleet. All fleet personnel are paying tribute to their dead comrades. Flt Adm V.N. Chernavin spoke about the work of the state commission's sections and said that the crew's prevoyage training had been conducted according to a special schedule involving the use of a special center for training personnel of nuclear-powered submarines. He pointed to the efficient and harmonious work of all the officials who tackled the sailors' rescue. He particularly emphasized the role of the Fleet Command Post headed by Captain First Rank V. Goncharuk.

The commander in chief told journalists that, although the precise causes of what happened have not yet been established, the Navy is already conducting a careful inspection of ships' materiel and checking the crews' preparedness to act on all the variants advanced by the state commission.

The participants in the news conference answered journalists' questions. The likeliest version of the development of events on board the stricken submarine was mentioned. A fire broke out in the end compartment right after a routine report that all was in order in the compartments. The emergence of a fierce fire was linked with a large intake of high-pressure air into the compartment. The reason for this is being established. After surfacing, an ingress of water began—a very considerable ingress directly before the loss of the ship. It was impossible to prevent the intensive shipping of water. The submarine's trim began to go considerably wrong 40 minutes before it sank.

Replying to a question about how Captain First Rank Ye. Vanin, the submarine's commander, died, Flt Adm V.N. Chernavin said that under maritime law the commander is the last to leave his ship. On learning that people were still on board, Vanin went below and took all measures to rescue the four crew members still there. But only one was able to escape. The rest, including the commander, died.

The question was asked—was it possible to make use of the opportunities to involve foreign ships in rescuing the submariners in the water? The materials at the state commission's disposal attest that it was Soviet ships and vessels that were closest to the submarine at the time it sank. The submariners' imperfect rescue facilities were also mentioned at the news conference. The Navy commander in chief pointed out that in this respect the fleet utilizes all Soviet and foreign experience. But that does not mean that this equipment is perfect.

The journalists were told that the state commission's final session will be held in June of this year.

Information Forum To Open in London 18 April

LD1704124289 Moscow TASS in English 1118 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 17 TASS—Much importance is attached in the Soviet Union to the information forum scheduled to open in London this Tuesday. It is hoped here that this first humanitarian function after the Vienna meeting, held within the framework of the Helsinki process, will be marked by a businesslike and constructive dialogue.

"Through this dialogue", a TASS correspondent was told by Vladimir Petrovskiy, the deputy foreign minister of the USSR, who is expected to address the forum's plenary meeting, "we expect to make successful headway in the dissemination and exchange of information, improvement of the working conditions of journalists. In other words, we would like the London information forum to help make the new political thinking a real, effective and transforming factor in the informational domain".

The forum will lay the beginning for a series of functions, envisaged by the Vienna accords: The first round of the three-phase conference on the human dimensions of the CSCE process will begin in Paris on May 30th (subsequent phases will be held in Copenhagen and Moscow).

Much has been done in the Soviet Union to ensure the fulfilment of the Vienna accords, in the part concerning information. Thus, foreign journalists in Moscow now have free access to many official institutions and the procedure of travelling in the country has been made easier for them, briefings are being held at the press-centre of the Soviet Foreign Ministry practically every day with the participation of prominent Soviet experts.

In the meantime, it is far from always that Soviet journalists, working outside the USSR, are provided with adequate conditions for discharging [passage indistinct]. On the contrary, it is set on working jointly in a business-like manner on the problem of cooperation among journalists, so that it would conform to the high standards, stipulated in the Vienna accords.

Speaking of information activities in the Soviet Union, the leader of the Soviet delegation to the London information forum Boris Pyadyshev, member of the Collegium of the Soviet Foreign Ministry and editor-in-chief of the magazine "INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS", noted: "We regard our commitments in the humanitarian sphere, assumed within the frameworks of the Vienna talks, as carefully studied and weighed decisions, taken in keeping with the national interests of the Soviet Union".

The Soviet Union stands for the development of international cooperation, aimed at turning Europe into a zone of glasnost and equal openness in the sphere of information.

Petrovskiy on Goals of Forum

LD1804013989 Moscow TASS in English 2120 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] London April 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Levchenko:

An international information forum opens Tuesday in the conference complex situated in the very centre of the British capital. Delegations from 33 European countries as well as from the United States and Canada arrived here to take part. Delegations consist of representatives of governments, workers of the media, experts.

The forum has been convened on the decision of the Vienna meeting of countries, participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). It sets the begining to a series of functions in the humanitarian area aimed at advancing the European process, improvement of the situation in Europe, promotion of cooperation in various areas.

The participants in the forum are to discuss a broad complex of questions associated with the work of the media, among them the role of the press in the life of society, making the public better informed, and intensification of the exchange of information, cooperation in the area, improved conditions for the work of journalists. The course of the implementation by CSCE participating countries of the commitments assumed in the area of information and the press will be analyzed. Roads will be outlined for upgrading the functioning of the press. Special attention is to be given to the latest technological achievements in the area of collecting and transmitting news service, to prospects that contemporary technology opens to the press.

"It will be the first time that countries, participants in the European process, will have a serious constructive talk to comprehend the role of the press, to restructure the work of the media," Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, told TASS. The aim of the meeting is to work out generally accepted standards of work, mutually acceptable decisions to fill the Vienna agreements with concrete contents. In this connection it should be emphasized that the Soviet Union is to implement the provisions of the Vienna agreements. There is a firm determination to bring the Soviet legislation in keeping with the Vienna agreements and the international covenants, to achieve the highest international standards of openness. What is more, we are prepared to go further—to spread the zone of glasnost and equal openness to entire Europe and North America. We shall be striving to ensure that talk at the forum be conducted in a constructive spirit, so that new political thinking should become a real factor in the sphere of information.

International Law, Psychiatry Symposium Opens

LD1704153689 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov:

Difficult problems of psychiatry's legal and medical aspects are being discussed at the three-day international symposium "Law and Psychic Health", which opened here today. It was called by the Serbskiy general and forensic psychiatry research institute of the USSR jointly with the state and law institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Its agenda includes several most important clinical, clinical-social and legal problems. The seminar will discuss, specifically, principles of psychiatric examination of socially dangerous criminals, international trends in the legislation pertaining to psychiatrics, protection of the rights of psychiatric patients in different countries.

"Abuses have been committed in our psychiatry during the past decades", the symposium was told by Aleksandr Karpov, chief psychiatry expert of the Ministry of Public Health of the USSR. The way psychiatry patients were treated was not always correct. There were cases when a patient, refused medical surveillance and care, found himself in better conditions than a person experiencing them.

Such a situation could not continue endlessly, Aleksandr Karpov stressed. This is why a decree was issued in the USSR last year, laying down new rules of psychiatric treatment. It gives the patients definite legal guarantees, showing that they are no longer rightless in face of public health organs. They now have the right to call in a lawyer, to complain to the prosecutor or court of justice.

The symposium is attended by general and forensic psychiatry specialists, lawyers specialising in psychiatry cases from the United States, Canada, Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, FRG, GDR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Cuba, presidents of several national psychiatry associations, heads of leading psychiarty institutes.

International Investment Bank Council Meets

PM1704151989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Report Approved"]

[Text] The 47th session of the International Investment Bank Council took place 11-12 April in Moscow.. Delegations from the following bank member countries attended the session: Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the SRV, and the USSR.

The session was attended by representatives of the CEMA Secretariat and of the International Bank for Economic Cooperation.

The session was also attended by a representative of the SFRY Federal Secretariat for Finance, participating in the session as a result of an agreement between the

International Investment Bank and the SFRY Government, and, as observers, representatives of the National Bank of Angola, the Afghanistan Bank, the State Bank of India, the Bank of Yemen, the National Bank of Cambodia, the Bank of Mozambique, the Inter-American Development Bank, the European Investment Bank, the Northern Investment Bank, and the Bank of Finland.

The council session was chaired by Z. Pakula, head of the Polish delegation and chairman of the Polish National Bank.

The International Investment Bank Council examined and approved the report on the bank's activities in 1988 and the balance on 1 January 1989 and approved the distribution of profits in 1988. New facilities were accepted for credit provision. The council also discussed and made decisions on other questions of the bank's activity.

The session took place in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding and businesslike cooperation.

UN Human Rights Session Termed 'Turning Point'

18070572 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1 [Article by V. Bolshakov and I. Melnikov, PRAVDA special correspondents in Geneva: "The Right To Be a Human Being. Review of a UN Commission Session"]

[Text] **Participants in a session taking place in Geneva's Palace of Nations had to listen from day to day for almost a month and a half to a report about frightful events and facts which, alas, are a reality of our times. This is documented research by special UN experts who traditionally are charged by the commission to report on how and why specific countries and regions violate rights and freedoms guaranteed in the General Declaration on Human Rights and in international pacts on civil and political, economic, social, and cultural rights.**

Reports on each item on the agenda are printed ahead of time in all the working languages of the UN, including Russian. There is a report "On the Protection of Human Rights in Chile." Section "A" is "The Right to Life." It gives the case of Martin Aleksandro Oyarse Guyard as an example. On 23 June 1988, he, his brother, and two friends were talking early in the morning on a street in Santiago. Policemen appeared. Seeing them, the young men began to run. A shot broke out, and Martin fell. The policemen dragged him into the police van. The death certificate indicated that the cause of death was "injury to the thorax and the abdominal cavity"....

There is a report on the violation of human rights in the Arab lands occupied by Israel, including Palestine. Hundreds of names. The victims of raids by the Israeli occupiers are little children, killed during the dispersal of a demonstration, and those who were sentenced to years of prison for hurling stones from catapults....

There is the evidence of special reporter Felix Ermakor who recently returned from Afghanistan and Pakistan. Paragraph 72 of his report states: "There are many allegations, some of which are confirmed by films and photographs, concerning atrocities committed by opposition movements in Konduz, Konar, and certain parts of the Nangarhar Province against Afghan soldiers, civil servants, and their families...."

The title of the report "On the Situation in the Area of Human Rights in El Salvador" speaks for itself: "Executions without trial or investigation...arrests, kidnappings, and the disappearance of citizens...." As of now—and this is documented—"death squads" are operating in the country, secret paramilitary formations whose victims are hundreds of absolutely innocent people.

A new quality clearly was sensed in the activity of the UN Commission on Human Rights in the current session. An understanding of the interdependence of the factor of development and the guarantee of human rights and freedom has long since come to fruition in the activity of the UN Commission on Human Rights of the world association. The evidence for this is both the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, which forms the basis of the entire code of international law about their protection, and international pacts on human rights. Nonetheless, it has been only recently, and at the current session with particular force, that there has been a resounding call to make these pacts universal. It was precisely here, in Geneva, that the "right to development" was for the first time placed on a level ranking with such fundamental rights as the right to life, personal freedom and security, and work and education.

More noticeable was the nascent switch from confrontations that were traditional at such forums to cooperation between capitalist and socialist countries on the question of human rights. It is difficult here to overestimate the role of our restructuring in both domestic and foreign policy. The movement forward began at the moment when a real dialog between the East and West in the humanitarian sphere took the place of a "monolog" after the 27th CPSU Congress under new conditions. There was also a move on the part of Western states. They recognized that which they previously tried to avoid: responsibility for socio-economic rights.

When a representative of Great Britain noted in his speech at the session that the list of families being reunited, which London traditionally displayed as a charge against the Soviet Union, was exhausted, we recalled that it was only 3 years ago that a meeting dedicated to contacts among people was held in the Swiss capital of Bern by representatives of 35 countries participating in the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. There were so many heated debates and mutual attacks, and the anticommunist emigre centers dispatched to Bern raved at their "counter-meeting"! And how many "pilgrims" with anti-Soviet slogans invariably were brought in from the ends of the earth to meetings in Geneva of the Commission on Human Rights? Where is all of this now?

Speeches from the session's dais by leading statesmen and political figures became an outstanding feature of the session. Michel Rocard, France's prime minister, the ministers of foreign affairs of Spain and Sweden, and Cardinal Casaroli, a Vatican representative, voiced their support for a constructive dialog.

Cesar Delgado Berretto, the minister of justice of Peru, as well as his Argentianian colleague Dante Caputo, persuasively showed in their speeches that the current international economic system, especially the practice of debt payment by the developing countries, promotes the violation of human rights and is a real time bomb. The problem of indebtedness and its negative effects on human rights in debtor countries, the Peruvian minister suggested, must be addressed at the next session of the UN commission.

"The session is doing many things in a new way," said F. Stanevskiy, the head of the USSR delegation, in an interview. The main thing, perhaps, is that this time the discussion transpired in a far more civilized way than previously. Despite relapses of the old style, such as, for example, in the speech of V. Walters, the U.S. Representative to the United Nations, a tendency to cooperate prevailed, which was observed in practically all speeches by delegates. Indeed, even the tone of these speeches was different.

V. Vasilenko, head of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] delegation and Kiev University professor, believes the session was a turning point in many ways. Mostly because the Western countries saw us as partners with whom they could negotiate seriously about specific humanitarian cooperation.

Changes are seen not only in us but also in the Western community of nations. The bloc approach is gradually being replaced by one that is common to all mankind. This is not taking place as easily as one would want, but there is a forward movement, and it is noticeable. It is enough, we will say, to cite an example of a discussion of the question of human rights in the territories occupied by Israel. It is significant that Sweden voted for the first time on the resolution on this question and that Japan and Spain abstained.

In many ways, our more attentive "reading" of Western positions and proposals, in contrast to previous years, helped to set up effective cooperation of the delegations on questions which, it would seem, previously led only to confrontation.

This time the commission came to the unanimous conclusion that there are no priority and secondary rights. They have to be implemented as a system, because the violation of one invariably leads to the violation of others. It is this kind of a "system of proof," S. Ogurtsov, Belorussian SSR chairman, who spoke at the session as an observer, said, that the Belorussian SSR has adopted, prpoposing a draft resolution with an appeal to all states to guarantee youth the right to an education and work.

Though not always willingly, Western countries at the 45th session made a number of compromises both in examining the situation in individual countries and in a whole group of countries. Only such an approach has made it possible to prepare the long-awaited convention on children's rights, which will be presented for review at the next session of the UN General Assembly.

Much was said about the future in Geneva. Including those human rights which have yet to be established as a legal category. Ukrainian SSR delegates said, for example, that they intend at the next session to introduce an initiative to develop a new generation of human rights—ecological rights. Why, the time will also come for this. It is good that they are already talking and thinking about this today. They are thinking about it because humanity has arrived at a stage in its development when it is beginning to fight throughout the world for the great right of a human being to be a human being.

Foreign Media Coverage of Georgia Events Viewed

PM1304122589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Apr 89 Second Edition p5

[TASS report: "Extremism—Democracy Inside Out; What Foreign Commentators Are Drawing Attention to Concerning the Events in Tbilisi"]

[Text] Quite a few commentaries have appeared in the Western press in connection with the unrest in Georgia, most of which are well-considered and attempts to objectively examine the essence of the events.

So what is the main focus of attention in foreign reports on the events in Tbilisi? "The situation in Georgia is complex but under the control of the authorities," the Yugoslav newspaper VESNIK wrote. "The main organizers of the demonstrations are well known—they are the so-called 'Georgian Popular Liberation Movement,' which has sown interethnic enmity and called for the elimination of Soviet power and Georgia's secession from the USSR."

The American NBC television company carried a report by its Moscow correspondent which showed demonstrators holding placards with slogans on them in English: "Long live independent Georgia!" and "Russian occupiers, go home!" "Participants in the demonstrations whom American television journalists interviewed," the report stressed, "spoke English quite fluently. However, you could not help feeling that both the slogans and those who took part in the interviews had been carefully prepared beforehand for a meeting with representatives of the foreign press."

The Paris newspaper L'HUMANITE noted: "It is paradoxical, but the success of restructuring in the Soviet Union is urging certain circles to demonstrate in the streets in defense of their minor and major class interests. These forces are getting carried away and are primarily supported by extremists, nationalists, anticommunists and activists from the so-called national democratic party, believing themselves to be the successors of the 1920 bourgeois republic."

"The events in the Georgian capital have occurred precisely at the time when calm has gradually begun to return to Armenia and the CPSU Central Committee is actively engaged in preparing for a serious debate on the ethnic issue," the French newspaper LE MONDE wrote in an editorial article entitled "Provocation, Revolt, or Incompetence?" "The forthcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum is to discuss the question of an organizational system of local power and the distribution of this power between the republic and the federation."

Official U.S. circles are treating the events in Georgia "with careful restraint," according to THE NEW YORK TIMES. For example, a U.S. State Department spokesman said that "the Georgians have a legal right to the peaceful expression of their political views," stressing the peaceful aspect of this right. In this respect he also said that "the Soviet leadership is doing everything in its power to settle the situation." The spokesman said that the United States prefers to "show good sense and restraint" regarding the events in Georgia.

Commenting on this stand taken by the U.S. administration, THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote that the events in Georgia have "given the United States a political problem: Although the G. Bush administration sympathizes with the movement for national autonomy, at the same time it does not want any upheavals that would undermine the prospects of further changes in the USSR."

There are also some mass media bodies, however, whose material is far from moderate and contains misrepresentations and attempts to portray the real events in a distorted light. For example, the American ABC television company alleged in a report from Moscow that on 10 April "troops opened fire on demonstrators in Soviet Georgia" as a result of which 18 people were killed. But it is well known that authoritative explanations have been given on this matter and it has been stressed that no firearms or any other weapons have been used in Tbilisi.

For its part, the Danish newspaper POLITIKEN has said that most people in the West sympathize with the demands of ethnic minorities but also want to see the policy of reforms succeed. "Ethnic conflicts," the newspaper stressed, "are making the reforms more difficult and giving their opponents telling arguments."

United States & Canada

Bush's Detroit Speech on Poland Viewed

U.S. Putting 'Conditions' on Aid

LD1704205189 Moscow TASS in English 2029 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Washington April 18 TASS—TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko reports:

Addressing on Monday Americans of Polish origin in Hamtramck, a Detroit suburb (Michigan), President George Bush emphasized a U.S. readiness to continue improving East-West relations. Recalling the new thinking of the Soviet Union, Bush noted that "East and West are negotiating on a broad range of issues, from arms reductions to the environment." Pointing to the need to put an end to the "cold war," Bush at the same time asserted that it had begun in Eastern Europe, that allegedly neither the U.S.A., nor the West in general had anything to do whatsoever with unleashing the arms race on the European Continent or with the heightening of tensions in the world at large.

Bush made public the intention of his administration to invigorate U.S. policy vis-a-vis the countries of Eastern Europe with the aim of "encouraging" the changes at work there. He said in the process that the U.S.A., allegedly, never recognized the legitimacy of the division of Europe.

The U.S. press had said in advance that in his speech in Hamtramck Bush would proclaim his new approach to the relations between the United States and the Polish People's Republic against which the United States introduced economic and financial sanctions in a not-so-distant past. The administration, Bush said, adopted a decision to work out together with Congress a set of measures aimed at recognizing the reforms taking place in Poland and at encouraging new reforms there now that "Solidarity" has become legal. Among the measures planned the President mentioned the selective softening of the customs regime with regard to Poland, the elaboration together with other western countries of steps to relieve the burden of Poland's external indebtedness, talks aimed at encouraging cooperation between American firms and Polish "private business," etc.

However, as the U.S. President made it clear, implementation of the measures proposed by him would be predicated on Poland's readiness to comply with conditions put forward by the United States. "We will not act unconditionally. We will not offer unsound credits. We will not offer aid without requiring sound economic practices in return," Bush said. "We must remember that Poland is still a member of the Warsaw Pact. We must take no steps that compromise the security of the West."

'Confrontation' Character Noted

LD1804140889 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 18 Apr 89

[Viktor Glazunov commentary]

[Text] American President George Bush has made a speech in a Detroit suburb where he touched on the issue of East-West relations. Here's a commentary written by Viktor Glazunov:

Like many people I have been watching with impatience and certain puzzlement the dragged-out process of drafting a foreign policy program by the new American Administration. And, like many people, I, writes Viktor Glazunov, have been anticipating new accents which may appear in the program. With this view the speech made by President George Bush near Detroit does not live up to my optimistic expectations.

True, the President repeated his desire to improve East-West relations, but on the whole the speech had a confrontation character. Of course, one may argue about whether the cold war has ended or not, but one thing is clear: It is wrong to claim it began in the East. Indeed, Churchill did make his notorious speech in Fulton in 1946 when he announced a crusade against communism and unveiled the doctrine to roll back communism, reinforced by the arms race and the nuclear blackmail. However, the main thing that matters is not history but today. I'm greatly surprised by the clear relapse into the doctrine of rolling back in the speech by President Bush. It seems that the latest developments have put the doctrine in the archives and George Kennan, who advanced the doctrine, has acknowledged that it doesn't apply any more.

But far from it, George Bush questions the historical choice made by the East European nations. He dreams about free and democratic Eastern Europe, in Western interpretation. With this in view he is ready to promote American policy towards East European countries. This is graphically illustrated by the so-called new approach to Poland. Together with the Congress, the American Administration has decided to work out a number of measures aimed at recognizing and encouraging new reforms in Poland, as if the process of renewal in Poland needs Washington's special recognition. The American President didn't beat about the bush and said that implementation of these measures would depend on Polish readiness to carry out conditions set by the United States. In fact, Washington claims to impose its way of resolving problems facing Poland and other socialist countries. This is nothing but a relapse into old thinking and policy and a desire to interfere in internal affairs of European socialist countries. Attempts to question the choice made by the East European nations in favor of socialism is nothing but a return to the cold war.

The previous American Administration left a certain positive experience in East-West relations. It is necessary to draw on this experience and develop it further.

Cheney's 'Cautious Approach' on USSR Noted

OW1804132789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1030 GMT 18 Apr 89

[From "The World Today" program; presented by Igor Goranskiy]

[Text] U.S. President Bush has completed the formation of his Cabinet. One of the last to be appointed was Congressman Richard Cheney, who filled the post of secretary of defense. [video shows Cheney being sworn in]

The arrival of Richard Cheney to the Pentagon brought a great deal of trouble to the U.S. military department. We expected someone who would personify faultless and virtuous good nature, but now we are beginning to have some doubts about our new boss, said one of the Department of Defense employees.

The reason for such doubts occurred only 3 days after Cheney was sworn in. The U.S. Air Force chief-of-staff, General Larry Welch, without the knowledge of his superiors, discussed the possibility of deploying MX and Midgetman strategic missiles. Cheney did not like this. The Secretary of Defense summoned Welch to his office and announced that he would not tolerate generals making premature pronouncements on political issues.

At the same time THE NEW YORK TIMES noted that discussions similar to the one conducted by General Welch had, up until now, been commonplace. Cheney simply wished to show who the boss was, noted one Pentagon employee.

He is very hard, very capable, and a highly refined politician, was Senator Malcolm Wallop's assessment of Cheney. The LOS ANGELES TIMES and THE NEW YORK TIMES regard him as a man of impeccable reputation. At the same time, they add, he has a fist of iron in a velvet glove.

The new secretary of defense is 48 years old. Richard Cheney was born in [word indistinct] Nebraska to a white-collar worker. In Washington he worked on the staff of an influential congressman. Four years later he became a special assistant in a department of economics. [as heard] In 1971 he began working in the White House as deputy assistant to President Nixon. After Ford became President, his friends made Cheney the White House chief of staff. It was in the Ford Administration that he met and made friends with George Bush, who at that time was the CIA director, and with James Baker, the then-assistant to the U.S. secretary of commerce.

After Ford lost the 1976 elections, Cheney returned to Wyoming, where in 1978 he was elected to the House of Representatives. His confirmation as U.S. secretary of defense went smoothly. It only took a week, not at all like the John Tower hearing which dragged on for nearly 2 months. There were no criticisms made of Cheney. His only vulnerable spot was perhaps his health. He has had three major heart attacks and last August underwent a heart operation. However, as cardiologist Allan Ross assured the senators, the operation was performed primarily so Cheney could more safely lead his inherently active lifestyle, which includes skiing.

Cheney's views on Soviet relations are consistent with the cautious approach that both Bush and Baker favor, writes THE WASHINGTON POST. What else can be said about the new U.S. secretary of defense? His personal fortune is miserly compared to those of other members of the administration. His only source of income is his salary and that of his wife and his royalties. Cheney has written a book, called "The Kings of Capital Hill," about speakers of the House of Representatives. This, then, is the person who, a month ago, became the Pentagon chief.

Top Bush Administration Officials Profiled

PM1804145789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 5

[L. Koryavin commentary under the rubric "Foreign Correspondents' Commentaries": "The Bush Cabinet: Full Face and Profile"]

[Text] Washington—The formation of the new U.S. Government is now complete.

The European headline—"We Have a Government at Last"—has never appeared in the American press. The formation of the Cabinet here does not depend on parliamentary debates, which are often prolonged. The Cabinet is the personal prerogative of the U.S. President. It is always as the head of state wishes it to be. But the process of forming a government is still not a rapid one. Especially as it depends on the members of the Cabinet being approved by the Senate. This is an important procedure, but the upper house rarely refuses to confirm candidates nominated by the President.

On this occasion, however, the formation of the Bush Cabinet has taken a noticeably long time. What is more, the Senate rejected one of the main proteges of the new President—the former senator from Texas, John Tower, who had been tipped for the post of U.S. defense secretary.

The secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, who are subordinate to the U.S. defense secretary, have only just been appointed. The delay in their appointments is explained by the fact that the selection of the Pentagon chief himself has dragged on. The confirmation of officials in the Senate is still continuing. But political observers are already analyzing the makeup of the government and predicting the practical steps that will be taken by the Bush administration. The first conclusion about the Bush Cabinet is that it is balanced—because new faces are combined with representatives of the Reagan administration and because of its political anatomy. The Cabinet incorporates both conservatives and moderates. Some hold extreme views while others have centrist views. Two women have received secretaryships. The Cabinet includes a representative of the country's Black community and two people from Spanish-speaking families. The general conclusion is that the Bush government consists of experienced politicians with predominantly pragmatic views. Observers are noting that "the Cabinet largely resembles the President himself."

James Baker is the focus of special attention. He is known as the "prime minister" of the new government. Bush announced Baker's appointment to the post of secretary of state just a few hours after his election as U.S. President. "An outwardly charming 58-year-old and former marine, Baker knows political Washington, with its center-stage and off-stage sides of life. He holds a centrist position. He listens to his interlocutors and is inclined to compromise." This is how the new secretary of state is described in the press. We can also add that he "gets along" with Congress. The Senate quickly and unanimously confirmed his appointment. Baker is part of the Reagan legacy—he has been director of the White House staff and secretary of the treasury.

The 58-year-old Nicholas Brady has also transferred from the Reagan administration, holding on to the post of U.S. secretary of the treasury, as well as Richard Thornburgh, a professional lawyer and fellow-graduate with Bush from Yale University, who has remained attorney general. By keeping Nicholas Brady in the Cabinet, observers are pointing out, President Bush intends to use his experience to solve the country's complex financial problems. He is described as "a banker from Wall Street who is familiar with the mechanics of the stock market and banking system." It is no accident that Reagan appointed Brady chairman of the commission responsible for investigating the problems of the October crash on the New York stock market.

If we are going to talk about the "business wing" of the administration, we should single out the figure of Richard Darman, who has been made director of the Office of Management and Budget. Born of a wealthy family of industrialists in New England, he has long been the "right hand" of J. Baker, particularly as his assistant in the Treasury Department. He is 45 years old and one of the strategists and executors of Reagan's tax reform.

In contrast to Darman, who is described as a pragmatist, another secretary—of housing and urban development—the 53-year-old Jack Kemp, is considered an ardent conservative. As is well known, he put himself forward as a contender in the presidential elections and is one of the co-authors of the theory of "Reaganomics." However paradoxical it may be, in his present post Kemp will be responsible for solving the problem of the homeless in the United States, which has been exacerbated as a result of his own economic concepts. These concepts have limited state allocations for social needs. Kemp has told journalists that he "intends to tackle the problem seriously." Journalists have remarked that "the homeless will be seeking an audience with the prime source of their misfortunes...."

Extensive commentaries have been prompted by Bush's appointment of two women to his Cabinet—Carla Hills and Elizabeth Dole, as well as Louis Sullivan, a representative of the Black community. The first of these women holds the post of U.S. trade representative (with Cabinet rank), while the second is labor secretary. They both have a great deal of experience in administration activity. Carla Hills, a lawyer by education and also a graduate of Yale University, joined the Ford government and became the third woman in U.S. history to receive a ministerial portfolio. Elizabeth Dole was secretary under the Reagan administration. Her husband, Robert Dole, a recent rival of Bush in the presidential elections, is now leader of the Republican minority in the Senate. This appointment, as journalists say, is "another bridge built by the President to Congress, whose role has increased considerably." As for Louis Sullivan, the 55-year-old doctor has been made secretary of health and human services. He is well known for criticizing Reagan for the cuts in allocations to medical students, particularly those belonging to ethnic minorities.

The fate of such an important post as U.S. secretary of defense was not decided until the last moment. Unlike Tower's nomination, that of Richard Cheney, the 48-year-old member of the House of Representatives, was quickly passed by the Senate. The new defense secretary is described as a conservative Republican. He has been a member of various congressional committees, including the special committee of the House of Representatives for intelligence.

The other appointees include the secretary of commerce, Robert Mosbacher. This oil industrialist from Texas, who is 61 years old, has a fortune of $200 million. He was the financial director of Bush's recent election campaign, as he was of all his previous campaigns, incidentally. Retired Admiral James Watkins, the same age as Mosbacher, has become secretary of energy, where nuclear projects are concentrated. The 58-year-old Clayton Yeutter, who comes from a rich farming family in the state of Nebraska, heads the Department of Agriculture. Two other secretaries—of education and the interior—are virtually the same age. They are Lauro Cavazos and Manuel Lujan. They both come from Spanish-speaking families. Finally, there is the 50-year-old secretary of transportation, Samuel Skinner, who is seen as the "novice" in Washington. A veteran of political Washington—in the direct and metaphorical sense in this case—is the 62-year-old Edward Derwinski. Bush decided to form a department out of the former Veterans Administration and gave him the portfolio.

When you use the word "administration," this does not only mean the Cabinet. The structure of presidential power incorporates four basic elements: The President, the government, the executive apparatus under the President, and a whole series of executive agencies. Although people belonging to the executive apparatus, for example, do not have the rank of secretary, their authority is often no less than that of secretary and sometimes even greater.

The important post of director of the White House staff is held by 49-year-old John Sununu, former governor of the state of New Hampshire. His father is of Lebanese descent and his mother was born in El Salvador. Describing him, observers Evans and Novak, for example, stress Sununu's "conservative," even "extremely right-wing" views. The reverse is true of Retired Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft, the new, 63-year-old national security adviser to the President, who does not hold extreme views. This is a special post. It is important within the administration, in its actions in the international arena and in its relations with Congress. "The general has authority on Capitol Hill, and this is very important for Bush," observers point out.

The President has slightly changed the structure of the administration. He has decided to limit the number of Cabinet members but not the number of departments. The actual U.S. Cabinet itself is not very large—just 16 people with the rank of secretary. True, you also have to take into account the existence of a whole series of agencies, administrations, and bureaus. For example, the 64-year-old William Webster, director of the CIA, will not have the rank of Cabinet member, and neither will the 57-year-old career diplomat Thomas Pickering, who has become the U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations. Previously, these departments were part of the Cabinet.

It is worth noting one more appointment, although it comes under the "second echelon." It is that of Lawrence Eagleburger, assistant U.S. secretary of state. He is well known both in political Washington and abroad. Lawrence Eagleburger is an experienced diplomat and skilled polemicist. He has been distinguished by his tough approach to the policies of the Soviet Union. But nothing lasts forever, as they say. Observers are pointing out that they will be following with interest "Lawrence Eagleburger in his old post but in new times."

This is approximately the circle of people who must work out and implement the course of the new administration.

China

PRC Granted Fishing Rights in Soviet Far East

LD1804083789 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 18 Apr 89

[Text] China has received the right to fish in the 200-mile Soviet economic zone in the Far East. An agreement on this was reached at bilateral talks held in Moscow. For its part, China will give its Soviet partners assistance in growing sea kale on the Soviet Pacific Maritime Territory.

'Progress' Cited on 'Obstacles' to PRC Ties

OW1704000489 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 30 Mar 89

["First part" of interview with PRAVDA political observer Vsevolod S. Ovchinnikov by unidentified station reporter; date, place of interview not given—recorded; Ovchinnikov speaks in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation; first paragraph is unidentified announcer's introduction]

[Text] We will soon witness a major international event. From 15 to 18 May, Soviet leader Gorbachev will visit China. This will be the first visit to China by a head of state from the USSR in nearly 30 years. A few days ago, a station reporter interviewed Ovchinnikov, noted Soviet reporter on international affairs and PRAVDA political observer, and asked him several questions in which our listeners are interested. Today let's hear the first part of this interview.

[Reporter] What do you think will be the principal results of Gorbachev's visit to China? What effect will it have on the political situation in the Asia-Pacific region?

[Ovchinnikov] I think it is not difficult to discuss what the principal outcome of the coming visit will be because what the sides are expecting is, above all, to completely normalize Soviet-Chinese relations. If you want me to talk about specific results of the coming visit for the two nations, then I would say that it will have a positive effect on the progress of socialist renovation that has been going on in China over the past decade or so. It will also have a positive effect on the progress of socialist renovation in the Soviet Union that began nearly 4 years ago. As a matter of fact, an excellent situation that both of us need has emerged.

Although conditions are different in the two nations, the principal objectives of socialist renovation are, to a large extent, similar. In our nation we call this socialist renovation restructuring; in China it is called the policy of reform and opening up. Although we need not mechanically imitate each other's specific experience, we need to exchange experience. A very good situation that has never been seen before, not even in the fifties, has emerged. For the two sides, their experiences, both good and bad, achievements, shortcomings, and mistakes are equally valuable.

As for the effect of the Soviet-Chinese summit on the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, I think an answer can be drawn from what I said above. When the relations of the two powers and two socialist neighbors in Asia are normalized, and when the longest land border in the world becomes a border of peace and good neighborliness, it will certainly exert a good influence on the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. It will help relieve the tensions in some hot spots in that region. I believe that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will help solve the Cambodian question and ease tensions on the Korean peninsula. I believe that still better conditions will emerge for the Soviet Union and China to develop relations with other nations in Asia. I think there will be new progress in [word indistinct] relations. We Soviets are very satisfied with the Chinese-Indian summit meeting. The positive trend of vigorous development in the Asia-Pacific region will certainly get a boost after the Soviet-Chinese summit in May.

[Reporter] What do you think would be the main items on the agenda of the Soviet-Chinese summit.

[Ovchinnikov] I think the top item on the agenda will certainly be questions related to bilateral relations. For our two nations this is very important. The Soviet Union and China are not two ordinary nations in the world; they are two socialist powers and great neighbors. Here I would like to stress once again that exchanging experience in practicing socialism in a more active and fruitful way will be the principal outcome of the Soviet-Chinese summit and the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

[Reporter] I would like you to answer one more question. Are there any more obstacles in the way of our efforts to develop relations between our two countries? Or, have the obstacles been eliminated?

[Ovchinnikov] First of all, I wish to say that as far as the Soviet side is concerned, we have already declared in the name of the government and the public that we see no obstacle to our efforts, and that we have never raised any preconditions for normalizing relations between our two countries. The reason we have acted in such a way is that we want to turn over and disregard a negative, and even bitter, page in the history of our relationship. With regard to the Chinese side, as is known to all, China has more than once mentioned the three major obstacles to normalization of relations between the two countries. By the three major obstacles, China refers to the Afghan issue, the presence of Soviet troops on the Soviet-Chinese border and in the Mongolian People's Republic, and the Cambodian issue.

It seems to me that fundamental progress has already been made in respect to all three major obstacles. There are no Soviet troops in Afghanistan anymore, though, in my personal opinion, the regional conflicts in Afghanistan should not become a precondition for normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. Active progress has also been made in reducing the level of military confrontation along the Soviet-Chinese border. Recently the Soviet Union has more than once reduced the number of its troops stationed in Mongolia. Of course, first of all, the issue should be solved by Moscow and Ulaanbaatar on the basis of bilateral interests. An agreement on pulling out a large number of Soviet troops from Mongolia has been reached. We hope that China and Mongolia will take steps to mutually guarantee nonaggression and respect for integrity of territorial sovereignty in the near future. In principle, I believe peace and good-neighborliness will prevail on the Soviet-Chinese border to make it become a completely demilitarized zone. This will be in the interests of our two countries.

Last, I feel that some progress has also been made in seeking a solution for the Cambodian issue. Both sides reached some agreements when the Soviet and Chinese foreign ministers exchanged their visits and, first of all, during the period of Comrade Shevardnadze's visit to Beijing not long ago. No doubt, when the leaders of our two countries meet in May they will attach due importance to formulating measures for the solution of the Cambodian issue. Therefore, I am of the opinion that we have every condition necessary for continuous development of Soviet-Chinese relations.

Near East & South Asia

Vorontsov on Afghan Situation, Talks With Rebels

JN1704173889 Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 16 Apr 89 pp 1, 17

[Report on interview with Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and ambassador to Afghanistan, by Ghazi al-Jasim in Kabul; date of interview not given]

[Text] Kabul—Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and ambassador to Afghanistan, who is usually described as "the troubleshooter," has revealed the details of his meetings in March with the mujahidin leaders in Islamabad and Tehran. He also explained the development of the situation in this country following the Soviet troop withdrawal and the military and party situations, and his expectations about the possibility of reaching a political settlement in Afghanistan.

In an interview with AL-WATAN, which took place at the Soviet Embassy in Kabul, Yuliy Vorontsov said his repeated meetings with the mujahidin leaders in Al-Ta'if, Islamabad, and Tehran were important in terms of achieving a national reconciliation in Afghanistan and helping the Afghan people reach political solutions with the agreement of all sides.

Vorontsov said that during the talks, the mujahidin said President Najibullah's government, his supporters, and party members must leave the country for Moscow. Vorontsov added: In reply, I said: "You are talking as if you are the only force in the country. This logic is unacceptable because the People's Democratic Party is a main force in Afganistan. So how can you ask them to leave when the number of party members is over 200,000; and, counting their families and supporters, they are over 1 million. In addition to that, they are the strongest of the organized forces in the country." I also said to them: "You are fighting the Soviet Army, and the Soviet Army will withdraw soon, so what are you going to fight for after that? The road is open before you to enter Kabul through a political process; and if you claim that you are the main force, then what criteria did you use to measure this force? Were elections conducted, for example, in which you won all the votes?"

The Soviet diplomat added: They continued to insist that they were the only forces that represent the Afghan people. The Seven-Party group was there and there was a representative from the Eight-Party group. I pointed to an empty chair and said to them: "Why not have the representative of the People's Democratic Party sit here and begin the process of reconciliation? You are 15 parties. So, why are you afraid of one party that would sit with you to negotiate the future of Afghanistan?"

Vorontsov added: We encountered strange intransigence. It seems there were some people behind the scenes asking them to stop the negotiations. We told them to release the Soviet prisoners within the framework of a complete Soviet troop withdrawal. They said they did not agree to this and that these prisoners will be released within the framework of a full settlement of the Afghan question. We then told them that the settlement in Afghanistan is not a matter to be discussed between us and them, but rather a process between them and the Afghan Government, and prisoners are not connected with this subject. They said no to the release of prisoners without settlement of the whole problem. They also said the Soviet Union will not abandon its prisoners and that there is continuous pressure from the families of prisoners against the Soviet Government.

Vorontsov added: I said to them: "You talk about a holy war against the Afghan Government. But, you cannot achieve a settlement by force. The path you talk about means the destruction of the country, killing people, and halting the process of development. Also, it is in no way a holy war. You are destroying your country without any acceptable justifications." I also said to them: "Our withdrawal will provide you with the opportunity to form a broad-based national unity government. The doors of Kabul are open to you within the framework of a political settlement, and Najibullah's government is not a communist one." However, they refused to continue the talks and then suspended them.

In his interview with AL-WATAN, Vorontsov added: In Afghanistan, the only way out is through national reconciliation because both sides have equal military force and possess developed weapons. Neither of them can settle the matter by military means and there can be no military solution in Afghanistan.

Vorontsov also said: When we began the talks with them, they were seven parties in Pakistan and eight in Tehran. However, they are decreasing in number. There are only three and a half parties around Jalalabad. They are 'Abdul Rasul Sayyaf's group, Gulbulddin Hikmatyar's group, and Yunis Khalis' group. As for Mujaddedi's group, it is too weak to be considered. Therefore, there are only three and a half parties. The others refuse to take part in the fighting because there are many differences between them. For example, Rabbani sits watching without being active at all. We wonder why Rabbani does not sit at negotiations with the government.

Vorontsov added: The parties fighting around Jalalabad have given a new force to the government. The Afghan people can now hear and see the acts of these parties and the destruction they are inflicting on Jalalabad.

The Soviet ambassador said: I feel sorry for the victims who fall from both sides. There is only one solution—everyone must sit at the negotiating table because the major loser is the Afghan people. I also feel sorry for the continued sabotage of the cities, villages, and projects built by the Soviet Union for the benefit of the Afghan people. However, we are capable of rebuilding them when the war ends. Afghanistan needs to progress since the construction process has been at a standstill for almost a decade.

On Iran's position vis-a-vis Afghanistan, Vorontsov said Tehran has begun to view the notion of a broad-based government more positively, as has the PRC. He said the sustained incitement by Western nations is responsible for the mujahidin failure to come to terms with the Kabul Government. He also blamed the West for the failure of Moscow's talks with the mujahidin. He pointed out that secret contacts are taking place between the Kabul Government and the mujahidin, whom he said are averse to holding open talks.

On Pakistan, Vorontsov said he met with Benazir Bhutto in Islamabad, whom he said was surrounded by military generals during the encounter. Mrs Bhutto, Vorontsov believes, can do nothing since her hands are tied and she is thus in no position to work toward a comprehensive regional peace.

On his meeting with King Zahir Shah in Rome, Vorontsov said the Afghan monarch proposed a meeting to be attended by all the Afghan parties and forces in Geneva. As for the Afghan president, he suggested a meeting of all forces in Riyadh. We do not see why a meeting of all the forces should be held away from the battlefield.

He pointed out that the U.S. Administration has sent a message to the provisional Afghan Government asking that it halt shipments of narcotics. Vorontsov said something like 25,000 dissidents are encircling Jalalabad, shelling the city and killing innocents. They are, however, an easy target for the Afghan Air Force. According to estimates available to us, they have suffered more than 6,000 thousand killed and 2,000 wounded. The government forces also killed 250 of the opposition in an attack in the Torkan region a few days ago. The opposition, he added, must realize that they won't be able to decide the conflict militarily, and sooner or later there will be a political solution to the problem since the war cannot go on for much longer.

Vorontsov said Ahmad Shah Mas'ud has cut the vital Salang Highway. We got in touch with him and offered participation by his group in the government. Dr Najibullah promised to set aside for his group a third of the government seats, but he turned down the offer.

I have offered him food supplies, but he turned them down as he did numerous other offers. To my knowledge, the government will launch a military campaign to open the Salang Highway.

Afghan President Najibullah Interviewed

PM1704154589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Afghan President Najibullah by special correspondent V. Sevruk in Kabul: "Seeing Light at the End of the Tunnel"; date of interview not given]

[Text] [Sevruk] Esteemed President! On 15 February last the Soviet Union meticulously and on schedule fulfilled its obligations stemming from the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. What effect has this had on the situation around Afghanistan? What is the military-political situation in the country?

[Najibullah] I am a physician by training and profession, politics came later. So: Our society and our country, being gravely ill, are in a state of most acute crisis. Nature offers man two ways out of a crisis: Either to live or to die. Much depends on the person, on his will to survive. At present, it is as if we were inside a long dark tunnel: there is the war, privation or rather famine or threatened famine in many places, and the loss of thousands of lives, daily loss of life. But we can see a light at the end of the tunnel. We are persistently striving toward it.

Pakistan is waging direct aggression against us. Regular Pakistani troops are backing up the implacable opposition detachments, especially Pakistan's 11th and 18th divisions. They secure the rear of insurgents advancing on Jalalabad and participate directly in combat actions. Advisers and mercenary detachments have also arrived from some Arab countries, especially Saudi Arabia. The press has already reported the atrocities committed by members of the Wahhabi sect sent by Riyadh. They intercepted a column of residents of Jalalabad fleeing to Kabul. Children were picked up by their hair and shot in the face. I cannot speak of this without a shudder. Afghans, even when fighting one another, will never wipe a city off the face of the earth. Only outsiders are capable of doing this. The flourishing ancient Jalalabad has been reduced to ashes by foreigners.

Foreign correspondents who left Jalalabad with the Soviet troops 15 May 1988 remember how beautiful it was. That Jalalabad no longer exists today. It is now nothing but ruins. Between 5,000 and 20,000 mortar bombs, missiles, and shells are fired at the city every day.

The latest storming was launched 9 April. The so-called transitional government promised to capture the city within 72 hours. And look at the situation. I want to inform you that our army is not only holding on to the city, but has also opened the highway to Jalalabad. The garrison has received fresh units, combat ammunition, and food supplies.

The ranks of Jalalabad's defenders include quite a few field commanders who were fighting against us only yesterday. Volunteer detachments from the northern Balkh Province and the western provinces have made their way to help the garrison of government forces. Nothing like this happened even in the war against the British.

We have elaborated a new economic program for the country. Its essence is to make the Afghan economy an open economy offering a fitting position and fitting incomes for the national bourgeoisie, the small traders, the artisans, the land owners, the peasant families, and foreign capital. We will not erect any obstacles in anyone's way, the only condition being not to violate Afghanistan's sovereignty and give fair remuneration for everyone's labor. We elaborated this program relying on the experience and knowledge of businessmen, tribal authorities, and religious figures. We relied on Afghanistan's economic history. After all, history is the experience of the entire nation. In our economic program we also took the traditions of Islam into account. Islam is more than just a religion. It is a way of life for many millions of people, including economic life with its own methods of production and forms of distribution.

[Sevruk] Opposition representatives and certain circles outside Afghanistan evidently fear that the agreement of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] to renounce the monopoly of power is no more than a political slogan. What guarantees have been created for the shaping of a new ruling coalition? How are they implemented in specific cases?

[Najibullah] It must be frankly said that all the promises given by the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan from the first day of the proclamation of the policy of national reconciliation to this day have been honestly fulfilled. There is a long list of steps taken by the Republic of Afghanistan for the sake of ending the war and ensuring peace. Concerning the fears of some opposition representatives and circles outside Afghanistan and their claims that the PDPA's renunciation of the monopoly of power is nothing but a political slogan, that is their personal business.

I ask them: "What steps aimed at achieving reconciliation, ending the war, and establishing a coalition government have you taken so far, steps that have been rejected by the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan?" It would be better if the other side, instead of seeking guarantees from us with regard to the creation of a new coalition, shifted its stance a little, started feeling responsible for the interests of the Afghan people and for ending the fratricidal bloodshed, and took some realistic steps in this direction.

I repeat once again, reconciliation is not a one-way street. There must be movement in both directions.

The Supreme Command of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan has, at the proposal of the clergy and tribal leaders, declared a one-month cease-fire in connection with the beginning of the holy month of Ramadan, on condition that the opposition forces do not violate this cease-fire. Unfortunately, extremists, especially in areas controlled by representatives of the Pakistani military intelligence, are preventing groups of the armed opposition from observing this cease-fire.

The Republic of Afghanistan has also invited field commanders to support the government's initiatives and proposals aimed at achieving a compromise, stopping the bloodshed, and establishing a system of broad-based coalition rule. The president has met tribal leaders from Nangarhar, Qandahar, Zabol, Helmand, Paktia, and a number of other provinces. During these meetings the common opinion was expressed that it is necessary to ensure peace as quickly as possible. Talks and a dialogue between the forces of the opposition and the government were initiated.

Likewise, at a large and authoritative meeting of the clergy devoted to the beginning of the Lunar New Year, a fatwa [religious ruling] was adopted which speaks of the need to ensure peace as soon as possible and also about the illegality of the "jihad" ("holy war") from the viewpoint of the holy religion of Islam. Those who seek continuation of the bloodshed between Muslims are acting against the precepts of Islam; in connection with Pakistan's interference, the fatwa contains an appeal to the people of Afghanistan to start a "jihad" against the aggressor.

Pakistan has essentially trampled on the Geneva agreements by transforming interference into a direct aggression against the Afghan state.

Difficult, very difficult days are in store for us. We have no illusions. The adversary is gathering his forces near Kabul. He is besieging Khowst. He is moving his formations up to Herat and Qandahar. In practical terms we are fighting against a regular army with the participation of foreign combat entities [yedinitsy]. However, our army is changing, too. Those who stood their ground at the walls of Jalalabad in no way resemble the deserters who ceded Samarkheyl. The Afghan national spirit is awakening. Today the words "the proud and freedom-loving people of Afghanistan" are not merely an eloquent slogan in a leaflet. It is with these words that the martyrs and heroes of Jalalabad are fighting and dying.

[Sevruk] The PDPA has been in existence for almost a quarter of a century. What is the current situation in the party. To what extent has it been possible to overcome factionalism in the party and achieve unity in its ranks?

[Najibullah] As you have just said, the PDPA has been around for a quarter of a century, and like any other living organism it goes through periods of development. During the postrevolution period, and especially in the last few years, our party has considerably enriched its experience of political and organizational work. It has gained further knowledge and clarity about our society, the military-political situation, and the correlation of forces at the current stage of the country's development. Real life has opened the eyes of party members even wider. A process of the strengthening of the unity of the party ranks is currently underway.

Facts once again corroborate the truth that factionalism, especially now, is exerting a negative influence on the party ranks, and factional aspirations during such a fateful period in the country's history cannot gain support inside the party.

[Sevruk] If military operations in Afghanistan continue, what danger does that pose for the situation in the region as a whole? Who could significantly influence a change in the situation and how?

[Najibullah] There are quite a few sober-minded people in the present U.S. Administration and among political leaders in Europe. What kind of Afghan state do they want to deal with? With an integrated, stable, neutral state open to the world community, or with a fundamentalist, intransigent, anti-American, anti-European one torn by the squabbling of groupings fighting for power? Fire soon spreads to other people's houses, as is well known. And, after all, both U.S. and European interests could suffer seriously in a major conflagration in the Middle East region. Does anyone really want the trade route for drugs and terrorism using Stinger missiles to run from Afghanistan into Europe and Asia? The "intransigents" have already laid the foundations for such a dangerous turn of events.

For that reason we are pinning great hopes on the UN and on Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, who did so much to secure the Geneva agreements; on the Nonaligned Movement and its great prestige; and on friendly states. We are convinced that the ending of the bloodshed in Afghanistan is in the interests of the whole world community.

[Sevruk] April 27, 1989 marks the 11th anniversary of the revolution. How do you view those years?

[Najibullah] The April Revolution in Afghanistan must be analyzed impartially and scientifically. It was what it was. It cannot be repeated anew.

We respect world public opinion, even if it is unfavorable to us. But we do not accept uninformed homilies. Afghanistan's political civilization is considerably older than all those interpreters of Afghanistan's problems who occasionally visit the country. We are the most severe judges of our own mistakes and we analyze each of them thoroughly so as never to repeat them.

All sorts of nonsense is written about our revolution: That it is unlawful and that it never took place at all. But what is a revolution? It is a struggle for the right to social progress and against poverty, oppression, and enslavement. That was why the American and French revolutions and the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia were carried out. It is a different matter that the victory of a revolution is possible only on national soil. Its pace and forms cannot be determined by external factors. Our party made the greatest mistake on that question after April 1978, a mistake which in many respects virtually nullified our own program, which envisaged the participation of all national-patriotic forces in social progress.

The monopoly of power intoxicated many party members. And this in a society like ours—one that is so multilayered, multistructured, multinational, religious, and nontraditional in its history and culture! For a while we lived in a world of illusions, fine phrases, and slogans. Well, now real life has given us a trouncing.

In a discussion one of our comrades said: "If you cannot find a solution to a difficult problem consult with wise men. If they cannot help you, consult with reality and the experience of the people and you will not go wrong."

The Afghan people won their right to a dignified and civilized life through suffering; they won the April Revolution through suffering. The only bitter thing is that their sufferings have been too great. But that does not nullify the profound historical meaning of the April Revolution, just as it does not nullify the grandeur of the sacrifices of the Soviet people, who paid a high price for our mistakes. The Afghan people will never forget that.

[Sevruk] There are still few people in the world who know President Najibullah, so tell us a few words about yourself, about your relatives, and about the Ahmadzai tribe, to which your noble family belongs.

[Najibullah] I have already said that by education and profession I am a doctor. Perhaps that is why the sufferings of my people, embroiled by the foreign Pakistani aggressors in a bloody and fratricidal war, are so near to me. We are going through a very difficult period. There is simply no time to write my political autobiography. And that is not one of our Afghan customs anyway.

As for my family, they are in the ranks of the defenders of Afghanistan's independence. My younger brothers Rushan [name as transliterated] and Ahmadzay [name as transliterated] and my nephew Zmaray [name as transliterated] are fighters. Zmaray graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations but wasn't a diplomat for long. He went to fight as a deputy commander of a brigade of guards. One nephew died in battle.

[Sevruk] What wishes do you have for IZVESTIYA readers?

[Najibullah] I will tell you a personal secret: In studying Russian I increasingly turn to IZVESTIYA for help—not just to find the meaning of this or that Russian word, but to learn a little more about the Soviet people's life today and about the policy of restructuring being pursued by the Soviet leadership headed by esteemed President Mikhail Gorbachev, the reliable friend of the Afghan people. Your example is fortifying. But as I understand it, there are difficult problems in your society, too, although, of course, their character and scale are not the same as ours. And I would like to express my wish in the lines of a poem by my young friend Daud Kavi Ana [name as transliterated]:

"The feeble-hearted seek a straight, rut-free road. The proud and strong dash toward the summit along a mountain path...."

UN Security Council Resumes Afghanistan Debate

Afghan Minister Criticizes Pakistan

LD1704202189 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] New York April 17 TASS—The UN Security council today resumed debates on the situation relating to Afghanistan. This important body of the United Nations was convened last week at the Afghan Government's request in connection with the broadening of Pakistani aggression and armed interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs which threatens peace and security in that region.

One year after the signing of the Geneva accords on the settlement of the situation relating to Afghanistan, only the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan have fully met their pledges under those agreements.

Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil stressed here that Pakistan, which also signed the accords, intensified its interference in Afghan affairs immediately after their entry into force.

This has resulted in greater casualties and aggravated the situation. Pakistan is seeking to attain its expansionist objectives by training and arming groups of extremists.

Afghanistan has suggested that the Security Council delegation be sent to its territory and to Pakistan on a fact-finding mission and that an international conference be held with a view to securing constant neutrality and demilitarisation of the country.

Besides, the Afghan Government has requested that UN observer posts be set up along the Afghan-Pakistani border, noting that at least eight posts are required to ensure proper control.

In response, however, Pakistan has advanced absurd charges and attacked Kabul's policy. In addition to that, it opposed the idea of discussing the problem of restoring peace in the region at the Security Council. It was only under pressure of the obvious facts of its overt interference in Afghanistan's affairs that Pakistan was compelled to agree to the establishment of three UN observation posts, which Afghanistan believes is not sufficient.

UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar has expressed profound concern over the escalation of fighting and the continued suffering of the Afghan people.

In a statement marking the first anniversary of the conclusion of the Geneva accords, he called on all Afghans to put an end to bloodshed and achieve, by the way of inter-Afghan dialogue, the creation of a broad-based government.

The hope is expressed here that the Security Council, in urging all parties to the Geneva accords to meet their pledges in good faith, will be able to prevent the further worsening of the situation and contribute to peace in that region.

E. Bloc Nations Urge Greater UN Role

LD1804081789 Moscow TASS in English 0635 GMT 18 Apr 89

[Text] New York April 18 TASS—Different opinions on the situation around Afghanistan were expressed in a United Nations Security Council meeting on Monday. The meeting was called by request of Afghanistan due to the escalation of aggression and military interference of Pakistan into the country's internal affairs.

Representatives of Cuba, Democratic Yemen, the GDR and Mongolia stressed the importance of observing the Geneva agreements by all sides and supported an Afghan Government request to establish United Nations observation posts on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. They also spoke for more effective participation of the UN in the settlement process.

On the other hand, representatives of the United States, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia and Japan and also a representative of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) tried not to discuss this question at all and supported Pakistan which constantly violates the Geneva agreements. The United States doesn't think that the Security Council must play a more important role in Afghanistan at the moment, U.S. Permanent Representative to the UN Thomas Pickering said.

This approach was based on the mistaken premises that the Afghan opposition can overthrow the Kabul government with the help of mass Pakistani support. In this connection Cuban Permanent Representative to the UN Oscar Oramas Oliva said that the statements about a rapid overthrow of the government in Kabul are not new. On the contrary the armed Afghan opposition can't even seize Jalalabad despite all efforts. He called for a halt to any foreign interference into Afghan affairs.

A Democratic Yemen Permanent Representative to the UN 'Abdallah Salih al-Zashtal described statements about a rapid victory of the opposition as mistaken. He believes that the Afghan opposition miscalculated after the Soviet withdrawal.

1st Anniversary of Afghan Geneva Accords Noted

Accords Still Key to Peace

PM1404104189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Apr 89 Second Edition p 5

[V. Alekseyev article: "The Agreements Must Be Fulfilled. Geneva Agreements on a Political Settlement Around Afghanistan Signed 14 April 1988"]

[Text] A year has elapsed since the Afghan, Pakistani, Soviet, and U.S. foreign ministers signed the Geneva agreements on a political settlement around Afghanistan.

They aimed to create the requisite external conditions for resolving one of the most complex regional conflicts of our time, which has had an adverse effect not only on the situation in South Asia but also throughout the world. Today we can sum up certain results of the implementation of the Geneva accords and see what the parties to these accords have done to fulfill their pledges.

Let me remind you that the "Geneva package" includes the following: the Afghan-Pakistani agreement on principles of mutual relations and, in particular, on noninterference and renunciation of intervention; an agreement among these sides on the voluntary repatriation of refugees; a Soviet-U.S. declaration on international guarantees; and a linkage agreement for the settlement of the situation relating to Afghanistan.

The world public greeted the signing of the Geneva agreements with approval. In terms of its significance, this event was equivalent to the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. It was pointed out that it constitutes a victory for realism, reflects the new political thinking, which is reinforcing its position in the world, and has given a boost to the process of settling conflict situations in other areas, in particular in southern Africa, Southeast Asia, and Central America.

Settling regional conflicts is one of the most important and urgent tasks of contemporary international development. These bloody wounds on the body of mankind often result from the interference of external forces trying on various pretexts to foist their will on peoples and prevent them from making an independent choice. The Soviet Union opposes interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states. Guided by this immutable principle of our foreign policy, we agreed to sign the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan and then withdrew our troops from that country according to a strict schedule. By scrupulously fulfilling its pledges, the Soviet leadership demonstrated that its words are not at variance with its actions and that it strictly observes agreements to which it is a signatory. The Western propaganda myth of the Soviet Union's "expansionist aspirations" and its desire to perpetuate the "occupation of Afghanistan" was shattered. The Soviet proposal to the UN, for a cease-fire and a halt to offensive operations in Afghanistan and also the cessation of arms shipments to the combatant sides, developed and concretized the Geneva accords.

The Afghan leadership, which proclaimed and consistently implemented the national reconciliation policy, made a great contribution to the preparations for and conclusion of the Geneva agreements. Kabul is undertaking successive initiatives today aimed at finding a political settlement to the conflict on the basis of mutual concessions and reasonable compromise. These initiatives include a proposal to hold an international conference on Afghanistan, which could discuss questions of its neutrality and demilitarization. The Afghan Government's appeals to the United Nations to take a more active role in fulfilling its peacemaking functions also serve the purpose of ensuring the speediest restoration of peace.

It is well known that the preparations for and signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan took place with the active participation of the UN secretary general and his personal representative. The attainment of these accords showed the international organization's great potential for assisting the settlement of regional and other conflicts. This has been confirmed by the solution of the range of complex problems linked with granting independence to Namibia. After approving the Geneva accords, the 43d UN General Assembly session urged all the members of the world community to promote intra-Afghan dialogue—that is, talks between the Republic of Afghanistan's Government and the opposition.

It can confidently be said that there would no longer be bloodshed in Afghanistan if all the parties to the Geneva accords had strictly fulfilled their commitments. Unfortunately, that is not the case. The fratricidal bloodshed in Afghanistan is continuing and has recently assumed a more embittered character. Gambling on seizing power within the country by armed force, the hard-line opposition has launched a hail of missiles on Jalalabad, Qandahar, Khowst, and Kabul. Government troops are repelling the enemy attacks, inflicting major manpower and equipment losses. The claims by opposition leaders and Western propaganda services that the Afghan Army was incapable of conducting independent combat operations and that its officers and men, allegedly just waiting to switch to the opposition side, were incapable of conducting independent combat operations have proved unfounded. The fighting for Jalalabad—now reduced to hand-to-hand combat—has shown that the government troops are full of determination to fight in defense of the gains of the April Revolution.

At the same time, successive appeals can be heard from Kabul for the opposition to stop shooting and come to the negotiating table. If the mujahidin leaders remain deaf to the Afghan Government's peace-loving proposals, the policy of their patrons—above all Pakistan and the United States, which are continuing to interfere in internal Afghan affairs, simply forgetting their Geneva pledges—plays a great role in this.

For instance, the item in the Afghan-Pakistani agreement that commits both sides to "refrain from aiding, abetting, or supporting directly or indirectly separatist activity against another High Contracting Party on any pretext whatever or from any other action aimed at undermining the unity or undermining or overthrowing the political order of another High Contracting Party" is being flagrantly violated.

The facts indicate that there have been virtually no other positive changes in Pakistan's Afghan policy in the wake of Geneva. Moreover, Islamabad's interference in internal Afghan affairs has intensified. An unending flood of weapons continues to pass through Pakistan to the Afghan insurgents, and their camps are still functioning. The Afghan opposition has set up a "transitional government" on Pakistani territory. Recent reports have said that Pakistani servicemen are directly involved in the fighting on the mujahidin side.

It is hard to tell what Islamabad hopes to achieve by openly violating its commitments. To all appearances, that country's Afghan policy is still determined by the followers of former President Ziaul Haq, who would have liked to have his supporters—fundamentalists ready to sell their country's national interests—in Kabul.

Washington assures the mujahidin of its support until their "complete victory." The U.S. Administration has appointed a special representative with the rank of ambassador to the armed Afghan opposition. A State Department spokesman recently opposed the convocation of a UN Security Council session to examine violations of the Geneva agreements and opposed broadening UN activity to monitor their observance. Yet the U.S.-Soviet declaration on international guarantees says, inter alia, that the sides must refrain from any form of interference or intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and Pakistan and respect the pledges in the Afghan-Pakistani bilateral agreement.

Today we can see the true value of the statements issued by the leaders of the United States, Pakistan, and other countries who support the opposition and who have throughout this time shed crocodile tears over the "sufferings of the Afghan people." None of them is urging the opposition to stop shooting and resolve the dispute at the negotiating table. On the contrary, arrogating to themselves the right to decide who represents the people of Afghanistan, the mujahidin's patrons are trying to exclude from talks the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan—the party that led the April Revolution and has ruled the country for more than 10 years under the most complex conditions of war. They are urging on the "hard-liners" to active combat operations, increasing arms shipments, and sending their military advisers and even regular troops. As a result, the bloodshed has escalated into a large-scale civil war and the conflict is threatening to spread to neighboring countries.

The gamble by the United States and its NATO allies on military victory for the Afghan opposition illustrates the lack of realism in their approach to the settlement of the Afghan problem. The opposition is torn apart by contradictions, which often take the form of armed struggle between individual opposition groupings. It lacks a constructive program. The so-called "transitional government" has no representative character. It does not have the support, for instance, of the mujahidin based in Iran or of many "field commanders."

The mujahidin and their patrons must take courage today and take a sensible view of the course of events in Afghanistan, including the results of the hostilities. The Kabul government has proved that it is not the "paper tiger" it was depicted to be but a real force that everyone must take into account. The idea that there is no reasonable alternative to a political settlement in Afghanistan is not rhetoric but a logical necessity based on current Afghan realities. That is the main result of the year since the signing of the Geneva agreements, which has proved the correctness and advisability of such a step.

The solution of the Afghan conflict is a touchstone for the entire world community. The Geneva agreements are also designed to play an exceptionally important role here. That is why there must be no breakdown in their fulfillment. That would have unpredictable consequences in the development of the situation in the region and would have serious adverse effects on the emergent solution of other regional conflicts and on the entire world situation. Let us hope that the constructive approach prevails.

'Interference' in Afghanistan Continues

PM1404183489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA political observer A. Bovin article under the rubric "On the First Anniversary of the Geneva Agreements on Afghanistan": "Interference Continues"]

[Text] A year ago a package of documents designed to settle the Afghanistan situation was signed in Geneva.

The Soviet Union pledged to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan.

Afghanistan and Pakistan agreed not to interfere in each other's internal affairs, and agreed on a procedure for the voluntary return of refugees.

The USSR and the United States signed a Declaration on International Guarantees.

The talks were difficult, and lasted nearly 6 years. Each document, and all of them taken together, are the result of a compromise, the expression of a balance of interests, and, moreover, a changing, unstable balance. It was not always possible to reconcile the extremes. Thus the Americans proposed that the USSR and the United States stop supplying weapons to the Afghan Government and the mujahidin respectively. Moscow rejected this suggestion, pointing out that you cannot equate a legitimate government with rebels. Afghanistan continued to be flooded with weapons. Yet when last December the Soviet Union consented to stop weapons deliveries—on a reciprocal basis—the Americans declined to give a positive response... Their interests had changed by then.

The idea of the Geneva accords was, by cutting off the channels for interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, to create the conditions for ending the civil war and implementing the policy of national reconciliation.

It did not work out.

The Soviet Union, as is well known, fulfilled its pledge. Our troops left Afghanistan.

Pakistan did not fulfill its pledge.

I quote points 7, 8, and 12 of Article 11 of the bilateral agreement between the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Each High Contracting Party undertakes to fulfill the following commitments:

"...7) to refrain from assisting, encouraging, or supporting, by direct or indirect means, insurrectionist or separatist activity against the other High Contracting Party...;

"8) not to permit on its territory the training, equipping, financing, or recruiting of mercenaries of whatever origin for the purposes of conducting hostile operations against the other High Contracting Party...;

"12) not to permit on its territory the presence, harboring—in camps and bases or by any other means—organization, training, financing, equipping, or arming of individuals or political, ethnic, or any other groups for the purposes of conducting subversive activity or creating disorders or disturbances on the territory of the other High Contracting Party..."

And what did Islamabad do? It patently did not refrain, and it did permit. It trained, equipped, and financed, encouraged, harbored, and armed. Having agreed to begin talks with Soviet representatives, the mujahidin leaders procrastinated, resolutely refusing to change their policy.

My Afghan interlocutors—this was in November—repeatedly pointed out the profound political asymmetry whereby the Soviet Union scrupulously fulfills its commitments, while Pakistan equally scrupulously ignores them. The question was often formulated thus: Either make Pakistan fulfill the agreement, or delay the withdrawal of the troops.

However, the Soviet Union had no real levers for influencing Pakistan's policy. At the same time, delaying the troop withdrawal would have done nothing to radically resolve the Afghan problem, and would have prompted a negative reaction from world and Soviet public opinion. And we left on time. But we did everything possible to ensure that the Afghan Government and the Afghan Army could defend the Republic's interests.

The muhajidin soon felt this for themselves. Hopes that the Kabul authorities would collapse soon after the withdrawal of the "shuravi" [Russians] were not realized. The government continued to control 25 or 26 of the 31 provincial centers. The apple did not ripen, and did not fall. Then they decided to shake down the apple. The assault on Jalalabad began 6 March. The ring began to tighten around Qandahar. Attempts to block the Hayratan-Kabul highway were stepped up. But in vain. The authorities held on. There is no room on Afghan soil for the "provisional government" created by the Peshawar Seven.

In the attempt to elicit diplomatic recognition, G. Hikmatyar, foreign minister of the "provisional government," set off on 8 April for a tour of Bangladesh, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Indonesia, Australia, China, and Japan.

This week, at the Afghan Government's request, the UN Security Council discussed the Afghanistan situation. Afghan Foreign Minister A. Wakil stated that overt and covert interference by Pakistan in Afghanistan's internal affairs has assumed an even broader scale. The minister stressed that it is a question of a fundamentally new stage in the Pakistani aggression: The undeclared war has turned into a full-scale war. Wakil proposed an international conference with a view to ensuring the permanent neutrality and demilitarization of Afghanistan.

Pakistani representative I. Akhund rejected the idea of a conference. "The tragic continuation of the conflict in Afghanistan is the consequence of the refusal of the regime in Kabul to bow to the real situation," Akhund asserted. "That regime is unacceptable to the mujahidin based in Pakistan and Iran. It is unacceptable to emigres, to intellectuals, to the religious hierarchy, to field commanders, and to tribal elders." However, Akhund consented to the siting of permanent posts of the UN Good Offices Mission along the Afghan-Pakistani border.

Meanwhile, there are still too many unknowns in the Afghanistan political equation.

Opposition Lowers Expectations for Jalalabad

LD1704202189 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in English 1400 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Fighting near the city of Jalalabad, the center of the Afghan border Province of Nangarhar, is continuing to be in the center of attention of the mass media in various countries. It is noteworthy that lately the tone of the assessments and statements by Western commentators who had predicted the rapid seizure of Jalalabad by the extremists is somewhat different now and it is reality that has compelled them to do that. [passage omitted]

Now even the so-called officials from the fabricated government (?of) the opposition, namely the foreign minister, Hikmatyar, declare that allegedly they don't need Jalalabad. He claims that the extremists are not striving to by all means seize that city and that the main goal for the opposition is to capture the capital of the country, the ancient city of Kabul. However, the attainment of this goal is much more difficult.

Recent events in Afghanistan after the departure of the Soviet forces from there have demonstrated the total inconsistency of the calculations by the extremists and their backers that the Afghan Government Army would fall apart in the first few days and that it is unable to conduct independent combat operations against the forces of the armed opposition.

However, they do not want to part with the version of the inability of the units and detachments of the government army. And to back up such a version, they are resorting to lies and misinformation. The enemies of peace and national concord in Afghanistan are stopping at nothing and are preparing disgraceful inhuman actions.

It has become known that thugs of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, whose ringleader is Khalis, plan to take out of Pakistan near Jalalabad several war prisoners and kill them dressed in Soviet Army uniforms. The provocateurs want to depict the matter in such a way that the Soviet servicemen were allegedly killed on the battlefield and after that their bodies are to be presented to Western journalists.

In so doing they are trying to make an attempt to prove the participation of Soviet servicemen in the fighting on the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan on the side of the government forces. In this manner the provocateurs hope to accuse the Soviet Union of violating the Geneva accords. On the other hand, they would like to devaluate the stamina of the Afghan soldiers and to justify the defeat of their own armed units. They are playing a hoax on influencing the field commanders of the opposition in the refugee camps in order to involve them in the jihad against infidels. [passage omitted]

Bessmertnykh Receives Iranian Ambassador

LD1804063189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0610 GMT 18 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow, 18 April (TASS)—On 17 April Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, received Naser Heirani-Nobari, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the USSR, at the latter's request. Matters concerning the development of the Soviet-Iranian dialogue and practical aspects of bilateral relations were discussed.

CPSU, Supreme Soviet Greet Syria's Al-Asad

PM1804090789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Apr 89 Second Edition p 1

[Text] To Comrade Hafiz al-Asad, secretary general of the Arab Socialist Revival [Ba'th] Party and president of the Syrian Arab Republic [SAR]:

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium send you and the friendly people of the SAR cordial congratulations on your national holiday, the 43d anniversary of the evacuation of foreign troops.

The victory, which crowned the Syrian people's many years of struggle for freedom and independence, was a turning point in the country's history. The SAR, led by the Ba'th Party, has achieved noteworthy successes in social, economic, and cultural building, in the implementation of progressive transformations, and in ensuring its national and pan-Arab interests.

Present-day Syria enjoys deserved international prestige, plays an important role in the Nonaligned Movement, and contributes to the solution of topical world problems.

We note with satisfaction the dynamic and fruitful development of Soviet-Syrian relations of friendship and cooperation on the firm basis of the 1980 treaty. In present conditions, when the principles of the new political thinking are increasingly establishing themselves in international relations, cooperation between the USSR and Syria in unblocking the chronic and dangerous Arab-Israeli conflict by convening an international conference on the Near East becomes of increasing importance.

We wish you, Comrade Hafiz al-Asad, good health and success in your party and state activity and we wish the friendly Syrian people prosperity and peace.
[Signed] CPSU Central Committee
USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Council of Ministers Greets Syrian Premier

PM1804090989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Text] To Comrade Mahmud al-Zu'bi, prime minister of the Syrian Arab Republic:

Please accept our sincere congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of the Syrian national holiday—the 43d anniversary of the evacuation of foreign forces.

Soviet people have deep feelings of liking and respect for the courageous and hard-working Syrian people. Their advancement along the path of independence, economic, and social progress, and of strengthening pan-Arab solidarity has the invariable support of the Soviet Union.

We express confidence that multifaceted Soviet-Syrian cooperation will continue to develop for the benefit of the two countries' peoples and in the interests of safeguarding peace and security in the Near East and in the world as a whole.

We wish you, Comrade Prime Minister, and the government and people of friendly Syria success and prosperity.
[Signed] USSR Council of Ministers.

East Europe

CSSR's Jakes Begins Visit to Moscow

Met by Slyunkov

LD1704153889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] A TASS report has just come in: Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, arrived in Moscow on a working visit today at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. He was met at Vnukovo Airport by Comrade Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade Fedorov, first deputy head of the international department of the CPSU Central Committee; and other officials. The state flags of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union were raised at the airport.

Meets With Gorbachev

LD1804063689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0625 GMT 18 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow, 18 April (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, met Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, in Moscow today. The guest had arrived in the Soviet Union yesterday evening on a working visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

Purpose of Visit by CSSR's Jakes Viewed

LD1704220389 Moscow International Service in Czech 1500 GMT 17 Apr 89

[From the "Events and Comments" program; Irina (Chaikova) commentary]

[Text] It is no one's secret that today socialism is passing through a stage of probes: probes of the strength, fortitude, flexibility, and vitality of the system. The political situation in the world has changed considerably in the course of the last decade and is changing with enormous speed.

It is, of course, possible not to take account of change. But this will not stop change, as was said during roundtable discussions in which Soviet and Czechoslovak experts in ideological work participated. The discussions were organized in Moscow through the initiative of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee. A wide range of topical problems was discussed at the roundtable regarding the present stage of socialism.

We are aware that many serious problems in the field of economy, policy, and social relations have accumulated in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and other countries of the socialist community. The level of their topicality differs from country to country. In some places open crisis phenomena occur, often rather serious ones. In this context, as Mikhail Gorbachev said, there should be no questions to which evasive answers would be given, and there should be no doubts that we would dismiss.

The CPSU itself has been undergoing, as is well known, a radical restructuring: negation of a heavy burden of the stereotype of the past and the ever more active strengthening of the principles of the new political thinking. We observe similar processes in a number of other communist parties. Obviously, it is an objective law. A special significance is being attached to personal meetings of our leading representatives, namely in this turning point of history when everything is boiling in a cauldron of social and economic change, when anachronisms are not giving up without a fight, and far from everything is seen in crystal clear form. These meetings are an open exchange of views on the most burning questions of the practical activities of the communist parties.

In this sense we can assume that a working visit by Comrade Milos Jakes, the general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, to Moscow will enable many issues to be explained. Tomorrow Comrade Jakes, already for the third time during the last half year, will hold talks with the leading representative of the CPSU and Soviet Government. Real cooperation enables us to multiply understanding, thoughts, and possibilities. Time itself has shown the futility of blindly copying someone else's experiences. Today we are more clearly aware than before of the fact that there is not and cannot be one ideal general model of socialism. Only taking into account conditions and all specific features of social life gives hope for achieving success in the renewal of socialist society based on the principles of democracy and humanism. That is what the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are striving for.

Moiseyev-Led Military Delegation Visits GDR

Received by GDR's Kessler

LD1704192489 Moscow TASS in English 1913 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin April 17 TASS—Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, GDR Minister of National Defence, General of the Army Heinz Kessler received on Monday a Soviet military delegation staying here on an official friendly visit. The delegation is led by Chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, First USSR Deputy Defense Minister, General of the Army Mikhail Moiseyev.

Questions of the implementation of the joint defensive doctrine and further strengthening of cooperation between the fraternal armies were in the focus of attention during the conversation.

During its stay in the GDR, the delegation of the USSR Armed Forces will visit army units and training centres of the GDR National People's Army.

Kessler Comments Reported

LD1704141189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1336 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The far-reaching substantial peace initiatives of the USSR, the GDR, and other socialist states were described by high military officials of the GDR and the USSR in Berlin today as an important contribution to disarmament, international detente, and military confidence-building. Parties to the talk were GDR Defense Minister Army General Heinz

Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and an official delegation of the USSR Armed Forces headed by Army General Mikhail Moiseyev, first deputy defense minister and chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. The delegation arrived in the GDR today for a visit that will last several days.

The proposals for the reduction and complete elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons, the start of negotiations on the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, and the radical reduction of conventional armaments are especially important, the officials underlined. Kessler said that according to the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states, maintaining the necessary fighting strength and combat readiness of the National People's Army is a current task. In this, it should not be overlooked that certain forces of the NATO states intend to continue the policy of military superiority and nuclear deterrence, he said.

Hungary's Grosz on Party 'Unity at Any Price'

*PM1704142389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Apr 89 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Self-Reliance"]

[Text] The current international situation favors the development and implementation of the reform in Hungary, and the changes in the Soviet Union expand its sphere of activity, K. Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], has emphasized addressing a Hungarian national conference of city party committee secretaries here. At the same time, he noted that if the MSZMP does not proceed more resolutely, its actions may create the impression that, rather than controlling processes, the Hungarian leadership is merely following in their wake.

The MSZMP general secretary noted that political propaganda in the party is weak, and that the mass media do not provide sufficient assistance in policy formulation. Dwelling on all kinds of conjectures about a possible "split" in the MSZMP he declared: A party engaged in the responsible implementation of policy is not interested in a split; however, efforts to preserve unity at any price can also lead to the party's disintegration. The MSZMP must rid itself of people who do not accept the party's election platform. At the same time, the Central Committee sees no reason to convene an extraordinary congress or carry out a review of party ranks.

Hungarian Spokesman Cited on Party Changes

*PM1404160789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 1*

[Review by B. Rodionov in Moscow, F. Lukyanov in Budapest under the rubric "Abroad": "The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party: Changes in Leadership"]

[Text] Major changes in the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP), elected after the Hungarian national party conference (May 1988), have been made by the MSZMP Central Committee Plenum held on 12 April. In addition to organizational issues, the plenum discussed vital problems concerning party policy in the conditions of implementing political reform.

Hungarian and foreign journalists were addressed by L. Major, the party's press spokesman. The plenum participants, he said, discussed the report of the commission led by K. Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP, set up at the decision of the February Central Committee plenum to study the opinions of Central Committee members and ordinary communists on the workstyle and methods of leading MSZMP bodies, including the Politburo.

The discussion at the 12 April plenum dealt with how the MSZMP is going through a relatively complex period, when it is having to overcome crisis phenomena in the party's ideological and organizational work and at the same time find answers to many questions posed by life. It was noted that, since the party conference last year, in addition to achievements in the activity of leading party bodies there have also been some mistakes that have sometimes provided grounds for speculation on an imaginary split in the party. Meanwhile, now, under the conditions of a transition to a multiparty system, the MSZMP needs a united leadership as never before—which naturally does not rule out the possibility of different approaches to the solution of problems.

The Politburo proposed to the plenum that it resign en bloc. As K. Grosz said, the Politburo has thereby made the decision to give the Central Committee the opportunity to decide whom it wishes to see in the top party leadership, including the general secretaryship, at such a crucial point in the life of the party and all Hungarian society.

The plenum accepted the resignation. K. Grosz was re-elected general secretary of the MSZMP in a secret ballot. The Politburo now has nine members; four of the original members were not re-elected, including two secretaries responsible for ideological and organizational issues, respectively: J. Berecz and J. Lukacs.

The following were re-elected: K. Grosz, M. Nemeth, R. Nyers, I. Pozsgay, P. Ivanyi, I. Tatai, and C. Hamori. Of these seven, five were not members of the Politburo prior to the Hungarian national party conference in 1988.

The person who has recently attracted special attention in the world press is I. Pozsgay, who recently said in an interview with the Austrian newspaper DIE PRESSE that "if the MSZMP abandons its traditionalist, fundamentalist, Stalinist wing, the party will really be able to become a European, democratic party for which socialism primarily means democracy, an appropriate social policy and program, and freedom of the individual."

M. Jasso, first secretary of the capital's city party committee, and P. Vastag, who is head of the party organization in Csongrad Megye, have become new members of the Politburo. The election of 42-year-old Pal Vastag, who was not even a member of the Central Committee before the plenum, has aroused considerable interest among foreign observers in Budapest. The teacher at Szeged University secured a convincing victory at the end of last year over representatives of the local "nomenklatura" in the elections to the position of first secretary of the MSZMP megye committee.

J. Kadar, party chairman, said at the MSZMP Central Committee plenum that, because of his deteriorating health, on the insistence of his doctors he cannot take part in the work of leading party bodies at present. (J. Kadar is a member of the Central Committee.) The plenum took his statement into account.

Hungarian Public Discusses Draft Referendum Law

PM1304154989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 4

[F. Lukyanov dispatch: "Hungary: When To Hold the Referendum"]

[Text] A draft law on a nationwide referendum, which along with the recent laws on meetings, associations, and strikes is to be another element in the rule-of-law state, has been submitted to the verdict of the Hungarian public and all the country's parties and organizations.

The Hungarian Constitution that has been in operation since 1949 provides for the possibility of holding a referendum. However, this was not juridically regulated and has never been exploited in practice. This defect has been made good by the draft law prepared by the Hungarian Government.

The draft provides for the possibility of holding referendums on most important questions of concern to the country's population and also to particular megyes [counties], jarases [districts], or cities. Exceptions are tax policy, the state's obligations under international treaties, and also cadre questions.

The draft contains a clause to the effect that all changes to the country's Constitution, like the adoption of a new constitution, should be without fail put to a nationwide referendum. A referendum is also compulsory if more than 100,000 people vote in favor of holding a referendum on a particular question (barring the aforementioned exclusions). The president of the Republic—a post that is still only at the planning stage, the Council of Ministers, and at least 50 deputies from the State Assembly and no less than 50,000 citizens have the right to raise the question of a nationwide referendum. Megyes, jarases, and cities can hold nationwide referendums on the initiative of their inhabitants, provided they constitute no less than 1 percent of the population living in the area.

Following discussion by the broadest public, including alternative sociopolitical organizations and parties, the draft law on nationwide referendums will be submitted to the Hungarian National Assembly for examination. Recent practice shows that the original drafts have undergone considerable changes in the course of public discussion. Obviously this draft law will be no exception.

Polish Reforms Step Toward 'Real Democracy'

PM1204110189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 4

[L. Toporkov dispatch under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Correspondent Comments": "Poland: No Serious Undertakings Lack Risks"]

[Text] Warsaw—An avalanche of responses and commentaries has landed on Polish readers, listeners, and viewers these past few days with regard to two closely interconnected events—the "roundtable" and the routine session of the Polish Sejm, which adopted decisions of crucial significance for the future of Poland.

You can sometimes here the following question here: Who won at the "roundtable"? TRYBUNA LUDU's commentary leaves no doubts on this score: "Who won? Common sense." Like other socialist countries, Poland is now passing through the hard school of democracy and mastery of the new, nonconfrontational thinking. Party commentators like Professor J. Rejkowski, who was elected member of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Politburo not so long ago and has been an active participant in the "roundtable," has expressed the idea on several occasions in the past that policy based on a desire to "destroy the enemy" cannot be successful. We are now in the process of escaping from this false and dangerous philosophy that, as people here rightly observe, has its roots in the times of the Stalinist system. However, the process is not easy. Why?

In response to this question, J. Rejkowski drew attention to the following curious trend: Both inside and outside the party the opinion is current that the reform policy proposed by the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and developed in practice via the "roundtable" is only the party leadership's line and by no means that of ordinary communists. This is, of course, not true. Recent sociological studies show that approximately 70 percent of party members support the 10th plenum decisions. Fewer than 20 percent of those polled opposed them; the rest had no definite viewpoint. Of course, that is also an impressive figure, totalling 300,000 party members. Conservative party members? You cannot unequivocally answer in the affirmative: Innovations, especially more radical innovations, are not always received willingly, especially by older people, and older people are now the majority within the party.

The second important element is that the party is now in a new situation, the main element of which is the preparations for the June elections to the Sejm and the

Senate. The party, J. Rejkowski stresses, must show its worth as a political rather than an administrative force. Its future place in society will depend on this and on how much it proves able to mobilize its forces to fight for the votes of the electorate. This new situation may also be considered within the categories of risk, that is, expressing concern that the party may lose. However, it is better to emphasize that it may gain. It can achieve much more: a new, more attractive image in the eyes of the public and a stable political system in Poland. "No serious undertaking," the professor writes, "lacks risks. However, people who think only about the risks will achieve nothing worthwhile."

Polish newspapers have published data from a poll carried out by the Public Opinion Research Center right after the "roundtable." The data eloquently illustrates that most citizens assessed its work as successful and beneficial for the country and for the democratization of all life, and as providing hope of a better future.

RZECZPOSPOLITA cites the opinion of M. Niepokulcyczka, a non-party Sejm deputy, who spoke highly of both the results of the work of the "roundtable" and also of the recent Sejm session that adopted a package of important laws: "I think that, without exaggeration, this is a great day in the life of the country. Compromise is a difficult thing, but we have achieved it. We have gotten a chance to take a serious step toward real democracy. The legislative foundations for it now exist. Whether this really happens depends on all of us rather than on documents."

However, neither the agreement signed at the "roundtable" nor the laws adopted by the Sejm are to everyone's liking. After Sunday's service in the church of Saint Brygida, crowds of extremists under the slogans of the illegal "Fighting Solidarity" protested in Gdansk against the decisions of the "roundtable" and, consequently, of "Solidarity" and urged people to boycott the coming Sejm and Senate elections.

There will always be someone who does not like the prospect of public tranquility and who would like to continue to see Poland as the "sick man of Europe." It is much harder for these people to count on broad support now than it was previously.

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. Move To Bar Entrance of Panamanians 'Absurd'

PM1404163789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Apr 89 Second Edition p 7

[P. Bogomolov "Rejoinder": "These 'Undesirable' Panamanians..."]

[Text] Can the United States declare "personae non gratae" all citizens of some foreign state traveling to the United States? It seems so. This week the U.S. consul in Panama officially announced Washington's decision to ban all—precisely: all—Panamanians from entering the United States!

Of what is the population of this small Latin American country guilty in the eyes of the White House? Judging from everything, the U.S. Administration has decided to take revenge on the "excessively willful" Panamanian authorities for arresting a single U.S. citizen called Kurt Frederick Muse.

Meanwhile it has been established by an investigation that the aforementioned Muse was engaged in setting up an underground radio and television network in Panama to confuse the country's public during the general elections planned for 7 May. Incidentally, he was acting by no means independently but on assignment from the U.S. State Department. As for the special equipment for subversive activities, it was obtained by Muse from the Pentagon's Southern Command stationed here in Panama. That's the kind of shabby story it was.

In this situation I think it would have been best for the U.S. authorities to say nothing. But apparently their imperial ambitions have let them down yet again. This is why 2 million Panamanians have become undesirable aliens for Washington, as a "potetial threat" to U.S. national interests. Absurd? Possibly, but a fact nonetheless.

Delegation Holds Energy Talks in Venezuela

LD1004104189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0532 GMT 10 Apr 89

[Text] Caracas, 10 Apr (TASS)—a Soviet delegation headed by R.D. Margulov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers' Bureau for the Fuel and Energy Complex, was here from 1 to 8 april at the invitation of Venezuela's Ministry of Energy and Mines on an official visit.

The delegation was received by Carlos Andres Perez, president of Venezuela, and had meetings with Napoleon Lista, director-general of the Ministry of Energy and Mines; Juan Chacin, general director of the state oil company "Petroleos de Venezuela"; and with leaders of the Venezuelan oil chamber; of which employers of this branch of the economy are members. They made a familiarization tour of a number of the country's industrial centers.

At the end of the visit a protocol was signed in which the sides expressed readiness to begin talks with the aim of developing mutually beneficial cooperation in spheres such as technology for the recovery of heavy and very heavy oils, direct conversion of gas to liquid fuel, and others.

With the aim of becoming further acquainted with each others' potentials, a delegation of experts from Venezuela's oil and gas industry has been invited to visit the USSR.

Soviet-Ecuador Commission Ends Meeting

LD0804093589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1924 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Quito, 7 Apr (TASS)—The third meeting of the intergovernmental Soviet-Ecuador commission for trade and economic cooperation, which has ended here, stressed a mutual striving to develop bilateral economic and trade links in every way. The joint document adopted in this connection was signed for the Soviet side by V.S. Korolev, USSR deputy minister of foreign economic links, and for the Ecuadorian side by Ernan Olgin.

At the same time an agreement was concluded between the USSR Bank of Foreign Economic Activity and the Central Bank of Ecuador on granting mutual credits. An agreement was initialed on scientific cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the National Council for Science and Technology of Ecuador. A contract was concluded for the delivery to the USSR of 18,000 tonnes of bananas.

During their stay in Ecuador, the members of the Soviet delegation were received by Luis Parodi, vice president of Ecuador, by Foreign Minister Diego Cordovez, and by other government figures.

The next meeting of the intergovernmental Soviet-Ecuador commission for trade and economic cooperation will take place in 1990.

Nicaraguan Opposition Groups Meet in Guatemala

LD1104222189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1735 GMT 11 Apr 89

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Boris Andrianov]

[Text] The situation around Nicaragua remains complicated. Since the signing of the El Salvador accords on 14 February the Sandinist government has already fulfilled a number of requirements of this document. It has declared an amnesty for almost 2,000 former Somozists. A dialogue with the opposition has started. Changes in the mass media are in full swing. Yet the United States of America is allocating $40 million as so-called humanitarian aid to the units of the contras. This undoubtedly runs counter to the spirit of the El Salvador accords.

A meeting between the leaders of the contras and the Nicaraguan opposition has just ended in the capital of Guatemala. My colleague Yuriy Isayev will tell you about it:

[Begin Isayev recording] In the course of 2 days of meetings in the Guatemalan capital, the city of Asuncion [as heard]; the so-called "Bloc of 14, named after the number of opposition parties which comprise it; and the contra leaders drew up a common strategy of "struggle" against the Sandinist government. Yes, precisely "struggle," even though the government of Nicaragua is seeking a national dialogue on the eve of the general elections, which will take place on 25 February of next year.

Many observers from the Central American countries have regarded the assemblage in Asuncion as a betrayal of Nicaragua's national interests and as aiding and abetting the gangs of mercenaries.

One of their leaders, Adolfo Calero, created a real show before the TV cameras, hugging the leaders of the opposition. He told journalists that the detachments of the contras deployed on the territory of Honduras—that is, 13,000 men—will retain fighting ability with a goal to ensure democracy in Nicaragua. We are ready to exchange weapons for democracy, for old-style democracy, Calero stated there and then. Naturally, he had in mind the restoration of a regime similar to the Somozist regime.

What about the peace plan that provides for the disarmament and repatriation of the contras?

There can be no question of disarmament, Enrique Bermudes, a former Somozist colonel, stated at the meeting. On the contrary, the formation of the opposition who received Washington's new dollar injections have now taken heart and are drawing up strategic plans for aggressive military actions against the Sandinist Army.

The actions of the Honduran military which is constantly organizing armed provocations on the border are also not conducive to stabilizing the situation in Nicaragua. Last Sunday, for instance, a patrol of the Sandinist People's Army in Chinandega Province was fired upon by heavy-caliber machine guns. One soldier was killed and one was injured. This is already the 45th armed provocation against a sovereign state since the beginning of this year.

I would like to note that the government of Nicaragua, to avoid widening the conflict, is refusing to engage in retaliatory military actions, but, naturally, the Sandinists' patience has its limits.

It is typical that the Guatemalan meeting between the "Bloc of 14" and the contras is taking place when the United States, on the pretext of the struggle against drugs, is surrounding Nicaragua with a radar network by means of which electronic espionage will be conducted. One of the radar units is being installed on the Costa Rican island of Coco in the Pacific Ocean at a distance of 480 km from Nicaragua, another on San Andres island at a distance of 300 km, while a third unit is already in operation in the Gulf of Fonseca. Of course, such a radar triangle will not be conducive to the normalization of the situation around Nicaragua.

The new U.S. Administration—and the cause of a peaceful settlement in Central America depends to a considerable extent on its steps—could take up a more constructive position. By the way, this is precisely what more than 600 prominent figures of the culture and art world demanded yesterday. In a letter addressed to George Bush, they called on the United States to start a dialogue with Nicaragua, stop the economic blockade and political pressure, and normalize relations. Among those who signed the petition are well-known men of letters: Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Rafael Alberti, Graham Greene, Jorge Amado, and Alberto Moravia. One would like Washington to listen to these voices of progressive figures of world reknown and not to the pathetic moanings of the contras on which history has already passed sentence. [end recording]

Brazil Publishes Second Volume of Gorbachev Speeches

LD1604063189 Moscow TASS in English 0624 GMT 16 Apr 89

[Text] Rio de Janeiro April 16 TASS—The second volume of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's speeches is off the press in Brazil. A ceremony held on the occasion in Rio de Janeiro was attended by National Congress members, representatives of different political parties and the public of the city.

Chilean United Left Views Armed Forces Role

PY1404222289 Moscow Radio Magallanes in Spanish 0100 GMT 14 Apr 89

["Text" of United Left (IU) communique released on 12 April; place not given—recorded]

[Text] In view of remarks made by some military sources, the United Left [IU] believes it must clarify some points:

1. The Army is a state institution, whose power derives from the military force given to it by Chilean society. Because of this, the Army cannot dedicate itself to carrying out the national transition to democracy.

The historical doctrine of national defense and Chilean tradition assign a non-deliberative role to the Army. This role does not include making political decisions or safekeeping or controlling civilian society through the use of force.

The dictatorship and its sponsors have distorted the goals of the Armed Forces and entirely deviated from their professional role. They have used the Armed Forces to achieve political goals, an action foreign to the military profession. The role attributed to the Armed Forces by the dictatorship is aimed at perpetuating the regime.

2. The Army cannot be considered—as General Medina Lois, retired, said—as the last national recourse to be used to solve institutional conflicts through coercion or the use of force. The use of the Army for these tasks is unacceptable because of serious and unpredictable political consequences that may follow and could lead to adventurous and coupist acts.

The only legitimate and incorruptible force in the solution of conflicts in a democratic society is the will of the people, which is expressed through the free and unrestricted sovereignty of the people. Any other theory can lead society to disaster and destroy the representative institutions, as unfortunately occurred on 11 September 1973.

To believe that democracy can be reestablished by maiming and restricting the power of the will of the people is foolish and can hinder the country's current political process.

3. The IU believes it is incorrect and unlawful for anyone to act as the representative of each and every member of the institution under his command. Paradoxically, this attitude leads the members of the institution to adopt a deliberative role and undermines the institution's hierarchy. Ultimately, it leads the institution to meddle in specific political matters.

The involvement of military men in politics is only legitimate and necessary when they are exercizing their rights as citizens. It becomes illegitimate, however, when it threatens or usurps the sovereignty of the people.

4. It is anti-democratic to transform the military's power into a fourth branch of the state administration. To convert this fourth branch into the most important and powerful national institution, and the only real symbol of national feelings and reality, would be detrimental to the Armed Forces as an institution, betray their professional role, and go against the will of the majority of the people. This is why it is extremely important for the establishment of democracy in the country to redefine the role of the National Security Council and to make it consistent with the current national reality, in which the people will freely elect their authorities.

5. Pinochet's double role as chief of state and commander in chief of the Army is a serious obstacle for the normalization of relations between military and civilians and for a real reconciliation among all Chileans. The regime's ideologues intentionally confused both roles with the purpose of concealing the political responsibilities of the dictator as Army commander in chief. The intention to perpetuate him is increasingly more evident, and the fallacy of his irremovability becomes more inconsistent and anachronistic with each passing day.

6. Chile is heading toward deep institutional, economic, and social transformations. It is on its way to reestablishing democracy and reconstructing a state where people will exercise their sovereignty. The resistance this process is finding among the ultra-reactionary sectors which have been in power for the past 15 years will inevitably generate political tensions that can only be overcome with a broad national political and social agreement without exclusions.

Therefore, it will not be useful if the Armed Forces remain in their units; they must join the national social development process which will have urgent needs in its initial stages of democratic reconstruction. The Armed Forces must join this process, not as tutors but simply as helpers in turning Chile into an honorable country respected worldwide.

The Armed Forces are, therefore, requested to respect the will of the majority of the people who want the end of the dictatorship as an essential condition to achieve a political system that will bring peace, justice, and development. The maturity and responsibility of the Chilean people will make this possible.

The IU declaration is signed by its political committee.

Guadeloupe Communists Visit 27 Mar-6 Apr

PM0704140189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Apr 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Guadeloue Communists in USSR"]

[Text] A Communist Party of Guadeloupe [PCG] delegation headed by C. Celeste, PCG general secretary, was in the USSR 27 March through 6 April at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The delegation had meetings and talks at the CPSU Central Committee Ideological and International Departments, Leningrad Oblast CPSU Committee, Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, APN, CPSU Central Committee, All-Union Leninist Communist League scientific and teaching establishments, and enterprises.

The Guadeloupe comrades were briefed on the wide range of political, economic, and international aspects of the restructuring policy, whose aims they share and support. During the delegation's trip to Leningrad and the Azerbaijan SSR they were able to familiarize themselves with the practical progress of restructuring and the CPSU's activity in resolving urgent social and ethnic issues.

Political & Social

Further Reportage on Situation in Georgia

Shevardnadze Visits Rustavi Plant

PM1704155389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Apr 89 Second Edition p 2

["Reprint" of 16 April ZARYA VOSTOKA report: "Metalworkers' Word and Deed"]

[Text] The collective of the Rustavi Metallurgical Plant has declared April 15th to be High Productivity Labor Day. All shops at the flagship of the republic's industry have maintained a precise pace in their work. On April 15 the metalworkers were visited by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and G.G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.

The many-thousand-strong metalworkers' collective has worthily passed the test of civic maturity during these tragic days for Georgia. The deep pain and sorrow which has filled the hearts of people in Rustavi, as with all inhabitants of the republic and the country, did not break their will to work. This was expressed not only in the fact that during these tense April days here the production process was not interrupted even for a minute and that people did not yield to the strike calls of aggressively minded groups of young people who gathered in front of the plant gates, but also in the fact that these were firmly rebuffed. What is more, they managed to convince quite a few misguided young people impelled by their emotions of the senselessness and futility of such an action.

Metalworkers in the rolling mill and open-hearth mill described everything to the visitors. They discussed working and living conditions for workers and employees and the status of and prospects for the collective's social development. In particular, an acute housing problem persists here—there are 850 people on the waiting list for apartments at present. But recently real prospects for eliminating this bottleneck have also materialized.

There was a frank and exacting discussion on the broadest range of questions currently worrying metalworkers, which took place in the red corner of the open-hearth shop where those steelworkers free from their work duties had gathered. In conversation with workers, engineering and technical staff, and the leadership of the enterprise E.A. Shevardnadze, G.P. Razumovskiy, and G.G. Gumbaridze asked about the prospects for the development of relations based on economic accountability in production and the advantages for each member of the labor collective and of the plant and state as a whole. Emphasis was placed on the importance of worker solidarity, unity, and cohesion and the consolidation of all healthy forces in society so as to heal the wounds inflicted by the tragedy of April 9 and to prevent new calamities by showing wisdom, calm, patience, and courage. Everything must be done to normalize the situation as soon as possible and restore public order and discipline so as to create the conditions for lifting the curfew in the republic's capital. This is because the eyes of the republic's working people have always been fixed on the Rustavi metalworkers and on Georgia's other large multinational labor collectives—the pioneers of new trends in the development of industry and the social sphere and the strengthening of good organization and discipline.

The Rustavi metalworkers stated that they approve the results of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum held the day before and its decisions and conclusions on the political situation created in the republic.

The plant director, Guram Kashakashvili, and representatives of the collective gave an assurance that they will make every effort to help improve the moral atmosphere in the city and the republic and will respond with deeds to M.S. Gorbachev's appeal to the Communists and all working people of Georgia, an appeal imbued with warmth and concern.

Central Committee Bureau Meets

PM1704133389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Apr 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading: "Tbilisi: Curfew Reduced"]

[Text] The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has stressed the need for the further activation of explanatory and organizational work in labor collectives, higher educational establishments, schools, and the population's places of residence; the involvement in this work of the broad party, soviet, and ideological aktiv; and the maximum use of the potential of the mass media and propaganda.

E.A. Shevardnadze and G.P. Razumovskiy took part in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau session.

On the same day, E.A. Shevardnadze, G.P. Razumovskiy, and G.G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, laid flowers on the square in front of the republic's Government House. There was a meeting with students at the Tbilisi State University.

'Enormous Damage' to Restructuring

LD1704213189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Apr 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today in Tbilisi, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze gave an interview to our special correspondent. [video shows correspondent Igor Fesunenko and Shevardnadze seated at a table]

[Fesunenko] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, an investigation has been going on for several days into the tragic events which took place on 9 April. There is still a curfew in Tbilisi. A tragedy took place. The appeal by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke quite clearly about this. And we saw how warmly it was received by the Georgian people.

You, as a Georgian, as a son of this nation, as a son of this people, probably also perceived this, everything which happened, as something close to your heart.

[Shevardnadze] This is a universal sorrow and not just a national one. And here, as is known, representatives of the Russian intelligentsia, and not only of the intelligentsia, arrived from the Ukraine and other republics. All peoples share the sorrow of this...tragedy, I will speak bluntly, of the Georgian people.

Difficult days are now being experienced in the republic, and in particular in the capital. It is an abnormal situation when, in peacetime, a strict regime has been established, a curfew declared, tanks and armored personnel carriers are standing in the streets of the city, and when Soviet Army soldiers are on duty. Well, it is well-known that this is not a mission for the Soviet Army. The Soviet Army is, in principle, not called on to fulfill this mission.

[Fesunenko] It defends the motherland from outside enemies.

[Shevardnadze] Without a doubt. Yesterday, we had a big day. We, the comrades who arrived from Moscow—I have in mind Comrade Razumovskiy, Georgiy Petrovich, and others who are accompanying us—held meetings with collectives. There were meetings in the streets, and a very long meeting in the State University, a real discussion, a real dialogue with the Georgian intelligentsia, with the involvement of young people, and representatives of student youth.

In the evening we drew up the results. And this morning we again consulted with many rayon party committees. We are reaching the conclusion that it is necessary to lift the curfew. A final decision on this matter has not been made by the republican leadership. Today, the leaders of all the major enterprises and educational establishments, creative organizations, secretaries of party committees, and representatives of youth organizations and informal associations which exist in Tbilisi and Georgia are meeting and, on this democratic basis, a decision will be made. [words indistinct] will probably make such a decision, to ask the leadership of the republic to revoke the curfew.

And the leaders of the city and the whole population—the multinational and international population of the city of Tbilisi—will be responsible for maintaining public order and the city's normal rhythm of life.

At present the most important thing, perhaps, is to stabilize the situation and to provide normal living conditions for the people, the whole population.

What is pleasing is that today all enterprises are functioning in a full-blooded manner and, both in the capital and in the whole republic, there has been a 100-percent turnout of workers, (? engineering) and technical staff. Many enterprises were working yesterday to restore the damage which was in these days, you are aware, inflicted on the state. Today, lectures were held in all higher educational establishments.

[Fesunenko] There was an appeal for this in fact at the meeting in the university yesterday.

[Shevardnadze] There was an appeal for this, and I am very glad that the students, pupils, and lecturers—I will speak plainly, they were on top of the situation. Attendance today was good, around 80-85 percent. We never expected more because many young people departed, many are in the country [words indistinct] and not all saw yesterday's television broadcasts.

I think that tomorow—well, you don't get 100 percent [word indistinct] quite like that—that full-blooded life of higher educational establishments and schools will begin, and enterprises are working well. Transport workers haven't let anyone down these days. It's true that there were interruptions, so to speak, but for the past 2 or 3 days, city transportation has been operating without any kind of serious complications.

Retail organisations—supply is not bad, relatively speaking. In general, I can say that public, political, and ordinary human life is gradually entering the phase of stabilization and normalization.

[Fesunenko] Yes. Another question which probably concerns all Soviet people: Eduard Amvrosiyevich, you are, after all, the foreign minister, and you have been away for such a long time, it seems, from the fulfillment of your main duties. Has this not had an effect on the functioning of our foreign policy department?

[Shevardnadze] I wouldn't say so, because it is not the minister after all who makes policy. There is a large collective there, and the Politburo and the general secretary of the party Central Committee are engaged with the problems of foreign policy constantly, every day, on an hourly basis I would say. It is true that I have been torn away. I have been thoroughly torn away, and it worries me.

[Fesunenko] It will be necessary to make up lost ground when you return.

[Shevardnadze] (?It will be necessary to make up for lost ground). And what I also want to say, I said it yesterday to the comrades, is that these days it is not difficult to conduct a dialogue with one's foreign partners. We have mastered this science, and I can say in all earnestness that we have mastered it thoroughly and not badly.

But, dialogue with one's own people, with all strata, with all representatives—this art, this science we have probably not yet mastered. This concerns diplomats too, because diplomats also have to know their own people. No matter how difficult our people may be, and there are (?clearly) people of different views, of different opinions, very often of entirely opposite opinions—we have to go through this school, the school of dialogue, the school of dealing with people. We have to teach, so to speak, to learn to speak with people in a human language, in any situation and in any extreme circumstances, because on this depends, and I will speak plainly, the fate of restructuring, and the fate of the democratization and renewal of our society. There is no other way. Everything that happened in Tbilisi was a tragedy both for the people, without a doubt, and also, I will speak plainly, inflicted quite enormous damage to restructuring and the democratization process.

Razumovskiy 'Confident'

LD1704185989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Apr 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] Today, Comrade Razumovskiy and Gumbaridze met with the aktiv of Tbilisi rayon and party organizations and then went to the suburb, to Mtskheta, Georgia's ancient capital. At the meeting with the aktiv of the rural rayon party organization, Comrade Razumovskiy and Gumbaridze discussed current affairs of the Mtskhetskiy Rayon's party and economic life, the problems of leasing, cooperation, and family contracting in agriculture. Residents of the rayon and the town warmly welcomed the guests. [video shows Razumovskiy and Gumbaridze at meeting] Before returning to the capital, Comrade Razumovskiy gave a short interview to Vremya.

[Begin Razumovskiy recording] Life is continuing and it can be seen today that its tempo, rhythm, and vigor are on the rise. Both the city party organizaton and the leadership of the party Central Committee, resting on the support they are getting now from the broad public—I have in mind the working class, the peasantry, and intelligentsia, all labor collectives—are full of determination and, in the near future, they will be able to cope with all problems. The people of Georgia are strong spiritually and morally, and I am confident that the new leadership will do all it can, given such support, to normalize the situation as quickly as possible and to return life to its normal course. [end recording] [video shows Razumovskiy in the street talking to the camera]

Tbilisi Curfew Lifted 18 Apr

LD1704170189 Moscow TASS in English 1654 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Tbilisi April 17 TASS—The curfew in the Georgian capital Tbilisi has been lifted as of April 18 by a decree of the Presidium of the Republican Supreme Soviet (Parliament).

Classes at higher educational establishments in the Georgian capital have practically resumed, and the percentage of pupils attending classes at secondary schools has noticeably increased, it was noted at a session of the Bureau of the Georgian Communist Party's Central Committee, held today.

Industrial enterprises, institutions and public transport, all vital services in the city are functioning normally. Having analysed the situation, the party Bureau recommended that the Presidium of the Republican Supreme Soviet lift the curfew.

A city taskforce has been set up by the Bureau's decision to help maintain public order. The Bureau session was attended by member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Eduard Shevardnadze and alternate member of the Politburo Georgiy Razumovskiy.

In the afternoon, Shevardnadze and First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party's Central Committee Givi Gumbaridze had a meeting at the Central Committee Headquarters with the primate of the Georgian Church, Ilya II.

Interior Minister on Public Order

LD1704171389 Moscow TASS in English 1709 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Tbilisi April 17 TASS—Following the decision to lift the curfew in the Georgian capital, the republican interior minister, Shota Gorgodze, described in an interview to TASS today how public order will be maintained in the city.

"Public order maintenance offices have been set up by militia and the general public in each district of the city and all over the republic," he said. "They will be headed by first secretaries of party district committees."

"Similar task forces are being set up at industrial enterprises, large institutions and organisations.

About 4,000 people are helping the ministry in this undertaking," he said.

"Special patrol routes have been defined. Order will be maintained. Today, for instance, I received phone calls from all higher educational establishments and many enterprises—the public are extending full support," the minister emphasised.

4 Arrested for 'Disturbances'

LD1804082789 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 18 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Georgia's Supreme Soviet Presidium has lifted the curfew in Tbilisi, the republic's capital. [passage omitted]

The office of the Soviet General Prosecutor has said that four persons were arrested for triggering the disturbances. It categorically refuted the rumors that hundreds of people had been arrested and qualified such allegations as provocative.

Troops, Military Equipment Leave Tbilisi

LD1804091289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 18 Apr 89

[Text] The curfew has been lifted in Tbilisi since 0500 this morning. Troops and military equipment have left the city.

An address from the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau to the citizens of Tbilisi, which is published today in the republican papers, says: Now tomorrow's fate depends only on all of us, on our readiness for action, discipline, and responsibility. The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau appealed to the citizens to show wisdom and prudence, to show that they can ensure order in their own home through their own efforts. For that purpose a city staff, led by (Makharashvili), first secretary of the Tbilisi gorkom [city party committee], has been set up. Similar staffs are being organized in every rayon of the city.

Life in Tbilisi is gradually returning to normal. Industrial enterprises are working and lessons in higher education establishments have resumed. Today, after a break, the opera theater is staging a performance. Museums, parks of culture, and recreation are reopening. At the same time the investigation of all circumstances of the events at Government House on 9 April will continue. A commission of the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has been set up for the purpose. It includes prestigious scientists, lawyers, representatives of the intelligentsia and informal associations, and journalists. All materials available to the previously set up government commission which has been operating until now will be handed over to the newly formed commission.

Avoidability of Unrest Questioned

18300531a Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Apr 89 p 2

[Text] An ancient Abkhaz village of Lykhna is located next to Gudauta 10 kilometers from the highway. Notable national holidays and lively horse races have been held here many times, and many people have been drawn here by the 1,000-year-old ruins of a Christian temple.

But now there is alarming news from Lykhna. An assembly was held here which adopted a request to grant Abkhazia the status of a union republic. This request was sent to many Moscow addresses—from the CPSU Central Committee to the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences—and it was published in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ABKHAZIYA.

The document, which was named the "Abkhaz letter," was used as a pretext for exciting unhealthy attitudes.

During the night between 8 and 9 April events took a sharp turn for the worse. At meetings in Tbilisi people with extremist attitudes spoke not about the Abkhaz question, but called for civil disobedience and proposed slogans of a nationalist, anti-Soviet nature. The matter went as far as direct calls for Georgia to secede from the USSR.

Persistent requests and demands to be reasonable and disperse, including from the patriarch Catholicos Ilya II, produced no effect. Moreover, some of the participants in the meeting resisted the police and military servicemen, which led to the loss of life. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that the organizers of the meeting closed off access to Rustavali Prospect to buses and trucks....

A curfew was imposed in Tbilisi. An investigation is in progress.

On 10 April the Georgian CP Central Committee held a meeting with Comrades Shevardnadze and Patiashvili and representatives of the intelligentsia.

It takes time and objective, complete information in the spirit of glasnost in order to make sense of what happened and find answers to many questions.

Why, in spite of the obvious efforts, did they not succeed in halting the events which everyone could see were inevitably leading to disaster? Why—although there were daily meetings of the Georgian party aktiv and within hundreds of meters in front of Government House there were continuous meetings headed by leaders of informal associations—was there no dialogue between the opposing forces? Why was there no support for appeals in the press and on television from many well-known people trying to prevent the dangerous development of the situation?

Yu. Rost called his correspondence concerning the events in Tbilisi in November of last year "There are No Victims; Some Have Grown Wiser." But this time, alas, there were victims.

Finance Ministry Considers Budget

PM1704145789 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 28 Mar 89 p 2

[Valeriy Budumyan and Tamaz Lomsadze report: "Strength and Weakness of the Budget: From the Collegium of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Finance Ministry"]

[Excerpts] The discussion of the draft "General Principles of the Restructuring of the Leadership of the Economy and Social Sphere in the Union Republics on the Basis of an Expansion of Their Sovereign Rights, Self-Management, and Self-Financing" is continuing in the republic. An enlarged session of the Collegium of the republic's Ministry of Finance was devoted to this. Those taking part in it were: Demur Dvalishvili, Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] finance minister; Revaz Kakuliya, deputy minister; Mirian Murdzhikneli, deputy minister; Givi Yerkomaishvili, chief of the Financial Balance Sheet [Svodnyy] Department; Beno Dzhaparidze, first deputy minister; Tengiz Goksadze, deputy minister; Ramaz Sichinava, Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic minister of finance; Givi Merkviladze, chief of Kutaisi City Finance Department; Dzhumber Khorguashvili, chief of Gori City Finance Department; and Guram Kodua, chief of Poti City Finance Department. [passage omitted]

The Collegium of the Georgian SSR Ministry of Finance has approved the basic principles of the draft and instructs:

—leaders of local financial organs to examine the "General Principles..." in labor collectives and within 2 weeks to present their proposals and comments to the Ministry of Finance;

—the republic's deputy finance ministers together with the State Planning Committee to take part in devising a procedure for forming and implementing the budget and financial balance sheet [svodnyy finansovyy balans] for the region in conditions of the restructuring of the leadership of the economic and social sphere in the union republics on the basis of self-management and self-financing;

—and to prepare additional measures for the financial improvement of the economy, the strengthening of monetary circulation, the reduction of budget expenditure, and the increasing of state revenue, and to actively employ various forms to put the population's money resources to work. To begin work to elaborate and implement programs to eliminate unprofitability at enterprises, bearing in mind the need to ensure that by 1990 enterprises generally cease to be loss-making concerns. To step up monitoring of the effective and rational use of resources, the observance of financial discipline, the safekeeping of socialist property, and observance of the policy of thrift.

The enlarged session of the Collegium of the Georgian SSR Finance Ministry proposes:

Turnover tax levied on the sale of consumer goods is a general state revenue, and if the state price fixed centrally rather than by the republic makes the output unprofitable the state, in other words, the union budget, must assume the burden of compensation.

The draft provides for the transfer to union budget income of firmly fixed payments from the profits of enterprises under local and republic jurisdiction and in a standard amount: specifically, approximately 5 percent of payments for local industrial enterprises and 10 percent for all enterprises of republic jurisdiction.

Clearly, this transfer to the union budget of payments from the profits of local and republic jurisdiction should not be considered advisable not just because our republic's budget is in deficit and we may lose part of our income but also because mutual relations between those enterprises and the union, republic, and local budget will complicate payments and banking operations.

It is planned that the participation of union enterprises in the formation of the republic budget will be increased considerably—to around 40 percent. Republic and local budget revenue will be R200 million and will constitute 5 percent of total revenues. This, of course, will have a positive effect on the growth of our republic's financial resources, although it should also be noted that such a strict establishment of the upper limit will not be correct. We propose that if one republic needs fewer financial resources—which is quite possible—its contributions are to be set at a lower rate, but in those regions which are short of financial resources deductions may not be increased. The introduction of such a procedure is inadvisable.

The draft deems it expedient to formulate in union republics within the economic and social development plan a financial balance sheet containing resources and the area of their use. In view of the fact that under the draft the rights and functions of autonomous republics, kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon soviets as the main link in the people's self-management and the real owner of a territory are being considerably expanded, we consider it advisable to approve financial balance sheets within the plans for the economic and social development of autonomous republics, krays, oblasts, okrugs, cities, and rayons at soviet sessions and to take account of their implementation. This will enable soviets to bring all financial resources under their control.

Central Electoral Commission Meets 14 Apr

PM1804093589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Apr 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "At the Central Electoral Commission for the Election of USSR People's Deputies"]

[Text] A regular session of the Central Electoral Commission for the Election of USSR People's Deputies was held in the House of the Unions in Moscow 14 April. The results of the election of USSR people's deputies in runoffs held 2 and 9 April were summed up. Commission Chairman V.P. Orlov delivered a report on this question.

The Central Electoral Commission, having examined protocols submitted by okrug electoral commissions, registered 46 people's deputies elected at runoffs in territorial electoral okrugs and 30 people's deputies elected in national-territorial electoral okrugs.

A report on the results of the election of USSR people's deputies at the runoffs will be published in the press.

Taking into consideration requests by some okrug electoral commissions, the Central Electoral Commission extended until 21 April the deadline for registration of candidate USSR people's deputies for the repeat elections due to be held 14 May 1989.

Taking part in the commission's session were A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Science Academy's Candidate People's Deputies Named

PM1704132589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Electoral Commission report: "At the Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies From the USSR Academy of Sciences"]

[Text] The Electoral Commission has examined the resolution of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium on the repeat nomination of candidate USSR people's deputies and the statements of nominated candidate deputies agreeing to run for the USSR Academy of Sciences. The commission registered the following as candidate USSR people's deputies:

Averintsev, Sergey Sergeyevich—born 1937, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, sector chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences A.M. Gorkiy Institute of World Literature, Moscow

Arbatov, Georgiy Arkadyevich—born 1923, academician, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the United States and Canada, Moscow

Bolshakov, Vladimir Nikolayevich—born 1934, academician, director of the Institute of Plant and Animal Ecology of the USSR Academy of Sciences Urals Branch, Sverdlovsk

Bunich, Pavel Grigoryevich—born 1929, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, department chief at the Moscow S. Ordzhonikidze Institute of Management, Moscow

Buslayev, Yuriy Aleksandrovich—born 1929, academician, academician-secretary of the Physical Chemistry and Technology of Inorganic Materials Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow

Ginzburg, Vitaliy Lazarevich—born 1916, academician, adviser to the directors of the USSR Academy of Sciences P.N. Lebedev Physics Institute, Moscow

Dobretsov, Nikolay Leontyevich—born 1936, academician, chairman of the Presidium of the Buryat Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Branch, Ulan-Ude

Ivanov, Vyacheslav Vsevolodovich—born 1929, doctor of philological sciences, sector chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Slavic and Balkan Studies, Moscow

Ilichev, Viktor Ivanovich—born 1932, academician, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Far Eastern Branch, Vladivostok

Kalinnikov, Vladimir Trofimovich—born 1935, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the Presidium of the Kola Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Apatity, Murmansk Oblast

Karyakin, Yuriy Fedorovich—born 1930, senior scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers Movement, Moscow

Lisichkin, Gennadiy Stepanovich—born 1929, doctor of economic sciences, sector chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System, Moscow

Logachev, Nikolay Alekseyevich—born 1929, academician, chairman of the Presidium of the Irkutsk Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Branch, Irkutsk

Lukinov, Ivan Illarionovich—born 1927, academician, vice president of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Academy of Sciences, Kiev

Petrakov, Nikolay Yakovlevich—born 1937, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Central Economics and Mathematics Institute, Moscow

Petrov, Rem Viktorovich—born 1930, academician, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow

Pozhela, Yuras Karlovich—born 1925, academician, president of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences, Vilnius

Purin, Bruno Andreyevich—born 1928, academician, president of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, Riga

Sagdeyev, Roald Zinnurovich—born 1932, academician, leader of the Scientific Methods Center of Analytical Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences Space Research Institute, Moscow

Sakharov, Andrey Dmitriyevich—born 1921, academician, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, chief scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences P.N. Lebedev Physics Institute, Moscow

Stepin, Vyacheslav Semenovich—born 1934, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Philosophy Institute, Moscow

Shatalin, Stanislav Sergeyevich—born 1934, academician, laboratory chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics and Forecasting of Scientific and Technical Progress, Moscow

Shmelev, Nikolay Petrovich—born 1936, doctor of economic sciences, department chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the United States and Canada, Moscow

Shumnyy, Vladimir Konstantinovich—born 1934, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, director of the Institute of Cytology and Genetics of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Branch, Novosibirsk

Yakovlev, Aleksandr Maksimovich—born 1927, doctor of juridical sciences, sector chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, Moscow.

Academician V.A. Zharikov, USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member G.F. Krymskiy, and Academician A.S. Spirin, who were nominated as candidate USSR people's deputies at the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium session, did not agree to run in the repeat elections for the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Yuriy Kurbatov Analyzes Election Results

18000768 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 4 Apr 89 p 1

[Article by Yuriy Kurbatov under the rubric "Notes of a Publicist": "A Sample of the Vote"]

[Text] In recent months, the barometer of our political life, it seems, was on that frontal line where cyclones and anti-cyclones collide. As specialists assert, the weather here cannot be predicted even a day ahead. Therefore, apparently, both publicists and political figures were quite cautious in their forecasts on the eve of elections of USSR people's deputies.

While this day is behind us, and there is at least preliminary data on the results of the elections, it is necessary to talk about what it gives us, what it taught us, and how much we have moved forward in our, speaking bluntly, initial political education.

I think that no one will deny the fact that we grew a lot politically during the 4 months of the preelection campaign. It seemed that the beginning of the preelection campaign did not augur any cataclysms. The nomination of USSR people's deputy candidates somehow started in the usual lazy way. District preelection meetings where contenders were screened out by the dozens only cast sad remembrances. Self-appointed nominees, members of informal groups, and leftists were screened out who in the view of delegates at meetings were not capable of earning the trust of the voters. At this stage, meetings made the decision for us.

However, quite a few uncommon people with their own expressed personal programs still passed through the tight selection screen.

It is here that real battles broke out not only between contenders for a deputy's seat, but also between those groups behind them, and between unorganized voters and apparatchik's who did not want to share even a little authority. There was also a wringing of hands and coercion to remove one's candidacy, fatherly exhortations, and domineering peremptory cries, the collection of compromising material on especially persistent persons; and, to put it mildly, clearly biased speeches in the press aimed at those whom they did not recommend "putting themselves forward," and the direct elimination of contenders. As a result, voters again did not have a right to make a selection in 384 districts—there was only one candidate left. A strange conformity to the law developed in this: more than half of these "sure" candidates were managers of state administrative bodies and party workers.

A lot of excuses were made! First and foremost—concern for the candidates by the "worker and kolkhoz [collective farm] masses," for whom, it was said, it was difficult to compete with representatives of authority—for the latter controlled the channels of information and other means of the preelection campaign.

Well then, how does one understand that 17 obkom [oblast party committee] first secretaries of the Kazakhstan Communist Party were the exclusive contenders for a deputy's seat? Moreover, many of them were not on ballots of oblast centers, and they went to the periphery and to remote areas. All 17 of the "firsts" in Kazakhstan were elected. It would seem to be time to rejoice. But somehow it did not go well for their colleague, V. Romanov, first secretary of the Alma-Atinskiy gorkom [city party committee]. He lost in a confrontation with A. Safonov, chief of the design-construction association "Alma-Atinskiy Home Building Combine." Parallels automatically come to mind.

However, sometimes even being in a remote area did not save one. V. Zorkaltsev, first secretary of the Tomsk party obkom, did not garner the required number of votes even though he was competing by himself.

Now, knowing the preliminary results of the elections, it can be said that all of these "games" turned against their organizers. They, apparently, did not consider that the time is not what it used to be, and that we are not the same now.

The needed majority was not won by the first secretaries of the Ivanovskiy, Vladimirskiy, Tyumenskiy, and the Chitinskiy party obkoms, and the Leningradskiy and Minskiy gorkoms of the CPSU. Not one of the three party workers who placed their candidacies in the Moscow electoral districts received the support of the voters. This list can be extended, but the problem, it seems, is not in figures. For we have a lot of examples and quite a lot of procedure. Quite frankly, I awaited the preliminary results of the elections in our Baltic republics with a certain anxiety. We all know how complicated the current political situation there is. However, the elections have proven that the party organizations of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and their leaders were that cementing cause that brought all reasonable forces together, and which was able to steer them into the creative channel of restructuring. First Secretaries A.-M. Brazayskas of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, Ya. Vargas of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, and V. Vyalyas of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee became people's deputies. Elected people's deputies were the leader of the Georgian Republic party organization, D. Patiashvili, and the leader of the Armenian Republic party organization, S. Arutyunyan. There are quite a few other examples where the leaders of party committees were victorious in an honest and open campaign, which strengthened even more not only the personal authority of the leaders but the authority of the party as well.

And what about those who lost? I think the events need not be dramatized. I cannot agree with those who hasten to see a trend in them that the party is losing authority among the masses, and a disenchantment of the people with the course of the restructuring processes. It would seem that one should seriously and thoroughly consider each specific case, but even now the general trends can be traced clearly. It is no secret that people in certain districts did not vote for one or another candidate, but against elections without the right of choice, against administrative-command pressure, cries by authorities, and attempts to eradicate the still fragile shoots of democracy. The people today no longer tolerate the role of a silent extra, which was pressed on them here and there by force of bad habit.

Undoubtedly, the personal qualities of some party leaders, the style of their work, and the social, economic, and ecological situation in one or another region also had an effect. All of this is so. But, evidently, there are reasons that are more serious. In January of 1987, a serious concern was expressed about the state of cadre work in the party. There was talk in particular about the fact that there are still a lot of city and rayon committees whose workers continue to live in the past, who operate in the old way, and who seem to stand on the curb of the restructuring road. There was also talk about the fact that without the development of democracy and without the broad participation of the workers, we would not be able to cope with the tasks of renewing society, and that it is necessary to learn to work under conditions of an intensified democracy and the increasing political and work activity of the people.

These problems were also raised sharply at the 19th all-union party conference where it was noted that restructuring is moving slowly and with difficulty in the party itself and that it is not keeping up with the speedy tempos of politicization of the public and the increase in the consciousness of the people.

However, not everyone perceived the seriousness of the moment, drew the correct conclusions, or took the changing political situation into account. And some frankly stood on the authority of a position that was correctly attained only recently. But not today.

And now about another not unimportant finding. Anxious voices were heard before the elections that there were not many workers and kolkhoznik's on the lists of candidates for deputy, and that they are clearly in an unequal situation with other candidates—prominent administrative managers, and party and soviet workers. Of the registered candidates, they constituted, respectively, 25.2 and 12 percent.

The anxiety was not without reason. In Azerbaijan, for example, 30 percent of the people's deputies were workers, while in Moscow, only one out of nine worker candidates was able to make it to people's deputy. And if it were not for two worker deputies who got through on the CPSU list, then there would have been a situation that was completely unsightly socially. Unfortunately, the Moscow example is not an exception. Even in many large industrial centers the workers were forced out of the list of contenders. This situation, it seems to me, should evoke the serious concern of party organizations.

Against the background of a sharp and uncompromising campaign in territorial and national-territorial districts, the nomination of candidates and the elections of people's deputies themselves from public organizations appeared, with rare exception, to be a kind of anachronism. It is really difficult to imagine what influence on the political life of the country is exercised, for example, by the All-Union Society of Philatelists or the Voluntary Society of Bibliophiles, or also the Society Fighting for Sobriety. Or, let us say, deputies elected from the Union of Cinematographers of the USSR, and, separately, from movie lovers; and from the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace and the Soviet Fund for Peace, and from the Union of Composers of the USSR and the All-Union Musical Society.

It appears that those who compiled this list adhered to a purely formal procedure: Because some kind of a union exists, it should also have a representative. At the same time, huge social groups of the population were left without their own representatives and which, first and foremost, require special attention and social protection: disabled persons, former soldier-"Afghantsiy." Also not on the list are representatives of numerous ecological organizations that enjoy the authority and active support of all regions of the country.

The simplest thing that can be done now is to list all of the costs of our political illiteracy. However, we will not engage in self-flagellation. We will not take up the experience of the political struggle. What the nature of this experience is, is another matter. For we have struggled all of our lives with different thinking, with the manifestation of the personal "I," and with all non-typical, unusual, and spent dogmas that do not fit into the Procrustean bed. Thus, we do not have to learn, but relearn. And this is significantly more complicated, because otherwise we will never arrive at a democratic legal state. The people have voted for restructuring and for its acceleration. Now we have to go farther.

Yazov Receives Lithuanian First Secretary

LD1604124589 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 15 Apr 89

[Text] The first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Algirdas Brazauskas, met with Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov in Moscow. The secretary handed over to the minister a document describing chief violations of discipline in the Soviet Armed Forces. Letters from mothers whose sons are suffering from negative relations in the Army were added, too. Yazov and Brazauskas came to an agreement that Lithuanians should serve in the Baltic countries or abroad or near Lithuania. The Soviet defense minister rejected a request to form national military units. The first party secretary also said that Lithuania's economic autonomy concept was better than that developed in Moscow. The main goal of the first secretary's visit to Moscow was his participation in the session of the judicial policy commission. The commission chairman, Chebrikov, supports Lithuania's proposal to raise wages for the judicial workers. Judges should be independent.

Brazauskas Discusses Current Lithuanian Situation

LD1604123489 Moscow International Service in Polish 1300 GMT 15 Apr 89

[Interview with Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, by Radio Moscow's Lithuanian correspondent (Aldofas Paulas); questions by (Paulas) read by announcer; Brazauskas speaks in Lithuanian with superimposed Polish translation—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] These days much is being said and written abroad—also in Poland—about Lithuania. Could you tell us how you see the present time in the republic?

[Brazauskas] Of course, our republic has not stood aside from the process of revolutionary restructuring started by the CPSU in April 1985. In a relatively short period we have had significant changes. A conception from the republic's economic self-dependence has been worked out. The functions of party, state, and economic administration are being separated. Preparations are under way for working under republican financial autonomy and self-financing. From 1990, as one of the first union republics, Lithuania will start operating under conditions of economic experimentation. New capabilities have been found for increasing state assistance to the family, to orphans, to the disabled, and to senior citizens. Concrete steps have been taken to improve the ecological situation.

Lithuania's past is being assessed more objectively. The deformations of the Stalinist period have been censured. The mass deportations of the population have been deemed unlawful. Relations with the church are being built on the basis of mutual understanding and dialogue. Through legislation, the Lithuanian language has acquired the status of the state language in Soviet Lithuania. We have presented the position of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee on interethnic relations—a position which is based on the Leninist conception of a Soviet federation. National symbols have been restored to political life. The yellow, red, and green flag has been affirmed as the state flag of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], with Vincas Kudrika's national song as the state anthem.

Every new step along the road of renewal is considered by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the government of the republic in the light of the people's strivings and aspirations. The platform of the Lithuanian Communist Party was proclaimed prior to the elections of the Soviet Union's people's deputies, and won the support of many republic inhabitants.

The involvement of the people helps us, the party officials and the activists of the soviets, to understand better and perceive in a new way the needs of all layers of society. The democratization has given rise to an avalanche of emotions, ideas and aspirations, which resulted in the creation of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring, Sajudis, and the Green Movement, as well as the Socialist Movement for Restructuring, Vienybe—Unity—Yedinstvo. Youth ecological clubs and other independent organizations have been created. Their attention is focused on topical problems requiring urgent solution. Furthermore, these organizations have submitted quite a few interesting proposals.

[Announcer] We think that Moscow Radio listeners would be interested in how you appraise the creation of the Sociocultural Association of Poles in Lithuania, attached to the Republican Culture Foundation.

[Brazauskas] We support the activity of the Sociocultural Association of Poles in Lithuania, which has about 10,000 members. Now, in towns and areas in Lithuania where Poles reside, organizational meetings are taking place. We are going to promote activities directed at developing national awareness and at creating conditions furthering the preservation of the traditions of Polish culture and their future development. I would like to take this opportunity to emphasize that we appreciate the establishment in Poland of clubs of friends of Lithuania and of Vilnius and its environs. We wish them every success in their activities.

[Announcer] You are listening to answers by Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, to questions from a Moscow Radio correspondent.

Recently in the Polish press, doubts were expressed with respect to the aforementioned decree on the status of the Lithuanian language as the state language. Many other problems are also being raised, concerning the use of mother tongue in education and the employment of persons of Polish origin who live in the republic.

[Brazauskas] I think that all these emotions aroused by the status of the Lithuanian language as the state language result to some extent from a lack of trust between the nationalities. The grounds for this could be the tragic legacy of the past, when the deformed Stalinist model of relations between the peoples was in operation. We most emphatically declare that, while taking care of their rights, the Lithuanian people do, and shall continue to, recognize the equivalent rights of the representatives of other nationalities who live in our republic; the right of the representatives of other nationalities who are indigenous inhabitants of Lithuania, including Poles, to use their mother tongue is, of course, not going to be curtailed. This right is guaranteed in the new constitution of the Lithuanian SSR, the draft of which is now being widely discussed. So the aforementioned fears are unwarranted and superfluous.

During my meetings with representatives of the Sociocultural Association of Poles in Lithuania, with the activists of the association, and with the Polish public, we discussed the Poles' problems in details. The idea was then put forward for the need to set up a competent government commission to comprehensively analyze the problems connected with the life and the situation of Poles resident in Lithuania, and of the tendencies and dynamics of the economic, social and cultural development of the areas where the Polish population constitutes the majority. I can tell you that a few days ago such a commission was set up, and it is going to be engaged in solving the problems of nationality groups.

A republican newspaper in Polish, CZERWONY SZTANDAR, has been in publication since 1953. Newspapers in Polish are also published in the Vilnius, Salcininkai, and Trakai rayons. Lithuanian radio broadcasts programs in Polish daily, while Lithuanian television broadcasts weekly. It is worth emphasizing that a special group of journalists, who in the future are going to work in the editorial offices of the Polish-language newspapers, is being trained at Vilnius University. In the republic there are 92 schools with Polish as the language of instruction, while in schools which use several languages of instruction there are Polish classes. The teaching personnel for the Polish schools is provided by the Vilnius Education Insititute. Every year 30 teachers of Polish from schools in Lithuania go to Poland, for in-service training courses. In the republic there are five Polish nurseries, while in 14 which have various language groups there are also Polish groups.

Lately, since the formalities involved in obtaining visas and other documents have been simplified, more of our tourists have had opportunities to visit Poland and more Polish ones to come to Lithuania. Contacts between relatives have also become more frequent. The number of our school leavers—I am of course referring to young people of Polish nationality—who go to study in Poland has grown.

We also widely support the development of regional arts among the Poles who live in Lithuania. In the republic there are several folk song and dance ensembles, and a Polish amateur theater.

Restructuring has presented us with new problems, and we treat with great insight the aspirations of the people of nationalities other than Lithuanian, including the Poles, of course—trying to create for everyone the optimal conditions for satisfying their cultural and social needs. Lithuania is our common home, and there is enough room in it for everyone who has their own problems and the problems of others close to their heart. We are obliged to constantly seek ways leading to mutual understanding, and to the realization and development of that which should be common for the Lithuanian people and the people of other nationalities who live alongside us on the same land. We are constantly seeking these ways, since only through combined efforts can the difficult problems of restructuring be solved.

[Announcer] You are listening to answers by Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, to questions from a Moscow Radio correspondent.

In 1986, Lithuania was visited by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, who, by the way, highly appraised the attention devoted by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the government of the republic to the affairs of the Polish population in Lithuania. In connection with this I would like to ask: What are the prospects for future contacts between Soviet Lithuania and Poland?

[Brazauskas] The contacts between Soviet Lithuania and fraternal socialist Poland are close and fruitful. There were ups and downs in the past between us. There were times when our relations were clouded over; there were also fine moments. And it is precisely with the latter in our memory that we should act both now and in the future.

Since 1962, on behalf of party echelons, friendly contacts have been established with the Bialystok and Suwalki voivodships. Regular exchanges of groups of party and public activists, specialists from various fields of the national economy, and teams of workers take place. More and more employees' groups from Soviet Lithuania are entering the orbit of friendship. Currently there are nearly 300 of these. The map of cooperation is also growing larger. Apart from Bialystok and Suwalki, we now have many good partners in Warsaw, Poznan, Lomza, Elblag, Gdansk, Olsztyn, Szczecin, Katowice, Lublin and other cities and voivodships in Poland. On the basis of an agreement signed last year between the Ministry of Education of the Lithuanian SSR and the Ministry of National Education of Poland, a Lithuanian language department has been created at the University of Poznan. At the same time, as I said earlier, young people of Polish origin from Lithuania are studying in Polish higher education institutions. The agreement also concerns issues of developing and improving the teaching of the Lithuanian language in schools in Poland and the Polish language in Lithuania. Cooperation between higher schools is bringing mutual benefits. Now pratically all higher education institutions of our republic are involved in it. General education and vocational and technical schools from Lithuania and Poland are also currently establishing active contacts. Extensive opportunities are also opening up in the development of collaboration between institutions of both academies of sciences. Research work in the field of Polish-Lithuanian and Lithuanian-Polish historical and cultural links has been given new stimuli.

Last year an important agreement was reached on opening a Polish People's Republic Consulate General in Vilnius. When we informed the public about this, many people, as manifested in numerous letters and public addresses, expressed the wish that an analogous diplomatic mission of the Lithuanian SSR should exist in Poland. I know that the Polish side responded to this favorably. In connection with this I should emphasize that the USSR Constitution and the Lithuanian SSR Constitution make provisions for the republic to maintain consular contacts with foreign states. Nevertheless, in the Soviet Union's diplomatic practice there has been no precedent for a union republic having its own diplomatic mission in a foreign country. The novelty of this issue has led to a postponement at the all-union level of a decision on mutual exchanges of consular or other missions.

Now we face the intensive but fascinating task of conveying to one another everything that's best, which we have accumulated in the process of development of the Soviet and Polish peoples.

I think that this purpose will be served by not only by the traditional exchange of delegations of party employees and council activists, representatives of various branches of national economy and lecturers, but also by joint sessions of the executives of voivodship, city, rayon, and other party committees, symposia, seminars, conferences, topical discussions and other forms of party work. We should combine more closely the practice of our contacts with current tasks in ideo-educational work, in education and culture, in fashioning the socialist style of life, and in returning to an authentic interpretation of patriotism and internationalism.

Polish Group in Lithuania Holds Founding Congress

Seeks To Promote Polish Culture, Language

LD1504204189 Moscow International Service in Polish 1300 GMT 15 Apr 89

[Text] The founding congress of the Sociocultural Association of Poles in Lithuania started in Vilnius today. Some 750 delegates, representing 12,000 association members, gathered in the hall of the republican Trade Union Palace of Culture. The guests include Valerijonas Baltrunas, Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee secretary, diplomats and public figures from Poland, and representatives of Polish people living in Moscow and in Soviet republics. A report was delivered by the journalist Jan Sienkiewicz, chairman of the association initiative group. One of the main objectives of the association, which is attached to the Lithuanian

Culture Foundation, is to promote the Polish language and culture. The agenda of the 2-day conrgess includes a debate on the report and election of officers of the association.

Reports Presented

LD1604080589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 16 Apr 89

[Text] The first delegates' conference of the Sociocultural Association of Poles in Lithuania is taking place in Vilnius. Among the guests are Josef Klasa, secretary-general of the Polonia association, and also representatives of the Polish worlds of science and culture with Jerzy Walczak. Chairman of the association Jan Sienkiweicz presented the sociopolitical situation of the approximately 300,000-strong Polish ethnic group in Lithuania in the course of his report, and also the attainments and serious difficulties with which he still has to deal. The meeting accepted by acclamation a resolution for the transformation of the association into the Union of Poles in Lithuania and the declaration of the creation in the near future of an All-Soviet Association of Poles.

Stalin's 'Victims' Honored

LD1704131889 Warsaw PAP in English 1218 GMT 17 Apr 89

[By PAP correspondent Slawomir Popowski]

[Text] Moscow, April 17—The congress of the socio-cultural association of Poles in Lithuania, holding debates in Vilnius, adopted a resolution on dissolving the association and transforming it into an independent social organization—the Union of Poles in Lithuania. The to-date president of the socio-cultural association Jan Sienkiewicz was elected president of the main board of the new union. The union lodged an application for registration with the republican authorities. The congress was attended by 736 delegates, mostly farmers and workers, representing the 300,000-strong Polish community in Lithuania.

Representatives of Poles from Lithuania, Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Estonia and Leningrad, attending the congress, appointed a team whose task is to found in the shortest time an all-soviet organization of Poles. The delegates honoured the memory of the victims of the Stalinist terror with a minute of silence. The congress resolved to approach Pope John Paul II with motions concerning the place and mode of work of the Polish church in Lithuania, and also securing equal rights for the Polish and Lithuanian churches. In another appeal, directed to the compatriots in Poland and thoughout the world, the congress emphasized that the Lithuanian Polonia rejoices to come back to the common table where their empty seats had been waiting to be filled for years. "We have preserved the language, the faith and the tradition," the appeal confirmed.

Answering one of the questions, the union's president Jan Sienkiewicz emphasized that it was necessary to fully bring to light the history of the Home Army (AK) operating in the region of Vilnius.

Lithuanian Reformers Praise Meeting With Lukyanov

LD1004085789 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] The leaders of the Lithuanian reform movement, Sajudis, have positively assessed their meeting with the Soviet vice president, Anatoliy Lukyanov, in Moscow.

The Sajudis leaders said that the meeting had helped the sides to deepen understanding on various questions. This was declared at a press conference in Vilnius today. The statement of this type was made by the chairman of the Seimas Council, Vytautas Landsbergis, and (Romaldos Ozerlas), editor-in-chief of the news bulletin ATGIMINAS.

The Sajudis leaders and the Soviet vice president, Anatoliy Lukyanov, discussed various questions on Sajudis activities, as well as those in socialism.

Anatoliy Lukyanov is an alternate Politburo member, and is considered the 15th man on the power ladder in the USSR.

Lithuanian 'Sajudis' Council Adopts Resolutions

LD1404110389 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Excerpts] An ordinary session of the Sajudis Seimas Council was held yesterday. It discussed important issues and adopted several resolutions. [passage omitted]

A decision was reached with the editorial board of the legal but, (Bronjas Gongales) called it, somewhat dissident magazine (DVADTSATVYY VEK) 20TH CENTURY, to hold a roundtable discussion in Lithuania on topical issues of today. [passage omitted]

The session also dealt with the new edition of the decree on responsibility for crimes against the state, recently issued in Moscow. The Seimas Council declared that by the decree the present power is identified with the socialist state and Lithuania's Supreme Soviet should not pass such decrees. It was decided unanimously to send a message of protest to Gorbachev as he had signed the above decree.

Events in Georgia also received attention. It was decided to send messages of condolences to Georgia's Supreme Soviet and Georgia's church leadership, expressing also protest against the use of brutal military force against the demonstrators. A demand was voiced that legal action be taken against the representatives of the authorities directly responsible for the tragedy.

The session also discussed at length the issue of the live television program, the wave of rebirth. After a prolonged interval, the program will again be broadcast every other Wednesday.

Lithuanian Press To Aid Fight Against Crime

PM1204121989 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 29 Mar 89 p 1

[ELTA report: "Law and Order and the Press"]

[Text] A conference of the leaders of the republic's mass media has been held at the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. The tasks of the press in stepping up the struggle against breaches of legality were discussed. S. Lisauskas, Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] minister of internal affairs; E. Eysmuntas, chairman of the Lithuanian KGB; and V. Barauskas, Lithuanian SSR prosecutor, informed the gathering of the situation which has taken shape and answered questions.

It was noted that recently the number of crimes had significantly increased in the republic. Signs of professional and organized crime are appearing. Instances of deception of customers and speculation have increased. One in five crimes is committed by previously convicted persons, one in seven by minors. The people's militia, comrades' courts, and other independent organs of the population are not fulfilling their functions properly. It should be noted that the situation is being complicated by the attitude of certain informal organizations toward observing legality, particularly in the organization of meetings, pickets, and other events. The press' lack of vigor in the struggle against this evil was stressed.

V. Baltrunas, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, and Yu. Paletskis, chief of the Central Committee Ideological Department, took part in the conference's work.

Legality of 1940 Lithuanian Events Questioned

LD1104133089 Vilnius LITERATURA IR MENAS in Lithuanian No 8, 18 Feb 89 p 12

[Article by Bronius Vaitiekunas, jurist, entitled "Did They Express the Will of the People?," under the rubric "Historical Recollection."]

[Excerpts] We often hear and read, in the press, statements asserting that the People's Sejm was carrying out the will of the people, on 21 May 1940, in adopting a resolution which proclaimed Lithuania a Soviet Socialist Republic and in appealing to USSR Supreme Soviet to include it into the USSR structure.

Following Lithuania's occupation by the Red Army on 15 Jun 1940, the People's Government, founded on 17 June on a directive from Moscow Emissary Dekanozov, dissolved the Lithuanian Sejm, elected in 1936, and began preparations for electing "a new type of parliament," the People's Sejm. Even in early July, as discussions took place in the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party on questions of electing a new Sejm, it was decided the Sejm would not be comprised of any parliamentary fractions, but would be made up of "Communist and nonpartisan blocks." For this reason, on the initiative of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, a so-called Lithuanian Labor People's Union (LDLS) was formed that included the Lithuanian Communist Party, the Lithuanian Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Organization, trade unions, and "other people's labor organizations and associations." The LDLS election platform was announced on 6 July 1940 by the Lithuanian Communist Party. Citizens of Lithuania were invited to vote for LDLS candidates to the People's Sejm, since "these candidates declared themselves for the provision of land to those without land, or granting more land, as well as other support to those with little land; for workers' pay increases and improvement of working conditions; for providing workers with social security and health benefits; for fostering conditions of providing education accessible to all, equality among all nationalities; and, in the realm of international policy, for friendship between the Lithuanian Republic and the Soviet Union and a strong and indissoluble union."

Thus there exists no mention of a goal to proclaim Lithuania a Soviet Socialist Republic and of plans for joining the Soviet Union structure. Let us consider, at this point, how representatives to the People's Sejm were elected and how the voting was conducted for this Sejm.

The People's Sejm Election Law, announced by the People's Government, stated: One people's deputy is to be elected for every 35,000 members of population (Art. 3). Election is to take place on one day, namely, 14 July 1940 (Art. 7). An equal number of candidates for people's deputy is to be presented as there are representatives to People's Deputies from any given district (Art. 19). Voting is not simply a right, but an **obligation** of every citizen over 21 (Art. 24). The ballots consist of printed cards indicating one candidate's last and first name, age, profession and place of residence; also to be included is the name of the individual voting for the candidate (Art. 27). Ballots are to be placed in envelopes stamped with the district election commission's seal (Art. 28). The voter places as many cards in the envelope as there are people's representatives to be elected in the district, seals the envelope, and hands the sealed letter to the official standing by the ballot box, who drops the envelope into the box (one may not do this personally). The voter's passport is marked to indicate he voted (Art. 35).

[Passage omitted] Professor P. Pakarklis [held post of People's Government Minister of Justice], with whom I had maintained a close association (we both hail from the same village and, after the war, I lived in his apartment in the university building on Didzioji Streeet in Vilnius, and worked as his assistant at Vilnius University Law School, Criminal Law and Criminal Process Department), told me that passport stamping during the vote for the People's Sejm was viewed as one of the most important means of forestalling any possible boycott against People's Sejm elections. Frequent announcements stated that voting was the absolute obligation of each citizen, and passports lacking voting stamps would identify people's enemies.

(These stamped Lithuanian passports were later taken from people as they were issued Soviet passports; the former were then destroyed to eliminate material evidence of compulsory voting; only a few such passports remained, by chance.)

In spite of such measures, few voters showed up at the polls on 14 July. For this reason a Republic Presidential Act was issued that evening, stating (supposedly because of inclement weather) that elections would continue for a additional day—until 2200 hours on 15 July 1940.

Upon arrival at the polls, the voter was issued a block of cards (with printed names of the Sejm candidates to be elected). In order to make them easily separable, the cards contained perforations, similar to postage stamps. Supposing Kaunas voters received 10 such cards each, since there were that many representatives to be elected; all of them were to be placed in an envelope. In spite of this, the majority of voters placed only one or two cards, with the names of people somewhat familiar to them, in the envelope, or handed an empty envelope to the commission member to place in the box. The remaining cards were thrown on the floor. [passage omitted)

An announcement by the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party stated that 95.51 percent of eligible voters participated at the polls on 14-15 July; of that number 99.19 percent voted for LDSL candidates (probably including all empty envelopes and cards which covered the floors of every polling place). This is how the 79 candidates of the People's Sejm were elected.

The first People's Sejm meeting was to be held on 21 July 1940 at the Kaunas State Theater. As later recalled by Professor Pakarklis, the arriving People's Sejm deputies encountered a hall filled with unfamiliar people, with some empty seats remaining among those in the front stalls, for the deputies. Professor P. Pakarklis, a People's Sejm deputy, also had strangers seated on either side of him. After calling the meeting to order, A. Snieckus made a motion to include "the question of joining the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" in the agenda, "since only the inclusion of Lithuania in the family of the Soviet Union nations could provide strong guarantees for its protection against the threat by any imperialist nation against its existence." This type of proposal was surprising and unexpected. As Professor A. [as published] Pakarklis sat in shock following this proposal, he felt a poke in the ribs from one of his neighbors and heard the words "Well, comrade, raise your hand." [preceding phrase in Russian] Everyone in the hall, which contained several times more people than there were Sejm deputies, raised their hands.

Thus the supplement to the agenda received a "unanimous" vote, and the later adopted "Declaration on the State System," which declared Lithuania a Soviet Socialist Republic, was handled in similar fashion. The ensuing adoption of the "Declaration on Lithuania Joining the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," followed the same route.

In adopting these declarations, the People's Sejm exceeded its boundaries, since the LDSL election platform did not provide either for declaring Lithuania a Soviet Socialist Republic or for its joining the USSR. In choosing representatives to the People's Sejm, the Lithuanian nation did not express its will to end the existence of a Lithuanian state in suicide, neither did it authorize the People's Sejm to carry this out. As is widely known, a representative's actions and deals, carried out outside the boundaries of the authority accorded him, have no legal validity and are not obligatory to those represented.

Remains of Stalin 'Victims' Near Kiev Investigated

LD1704082889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] The (Bykovnya) secret is out. In the vicinity of this settlement near Kiev, in Darnitso forest, over 68,000 Soviet citizens, prisoners from two concentration camps, were shot during the years of Nazi occupation. The remains of another large group of people were found in the 1970's, not far from the former camps, and reburied. It was considered that they were victims of the Hitlerites as well. But local residents used to say that the remains were of those shot in the years of Stalin's repressions. To check this out, the republic's Council of Ministers set up a government commission under which the procuracy has opened a criminal file. A thorough investigation of archive materials, the questioning of more than 250 citizens, and a number of forensic examinations have established that near the settlement of (Bykovnya) those shot were indeed buried in 1937-41. The names of some of them have been identified. Reporting this, the government commission considered it necessary to continue the investigation and has raised the question of putting up a monument to the victims of repressions.

Rehabilitated Repression Victims Eligible for Aid

18000785 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Apr 89 First Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Benefits For 'Rehabilitees'"]

[Text] *I and—I am confident—many in the country, are interested in the question: "What benefits have been established for rehabilitated victims of the repression? In my opinion, not all of the officials know about this, by far.* [Signed] V. Makeyev. Nakhayevskiy Rayon, Volgograd Oblast.

We get a lot of letters like this. We asked the USSR Procurator's Office to comment on them.

As was reported to the editorial office by V. Andreyev, a member of the collegium, the following benefits are provided for rehabilitated victims of the repression by a decision of the USSR Council of Ministers. They, or in the event of their death their heirs, are paid a 2-month salary at the last place of work, taking into account the position salaries during rehabilitation. The physically able have the right to be reinstated in their former positions. For those who were released, the time spent in imprisonment is considered in determining the length of work service. In setting pensions, increments to salaries legalized for given regions are taken into account.

Rehabilitees have a right to immediate assignment of living quarters. They or their heirs are compensated for losses connected with the confiscation of property. Manuscripts, books and photographs removed during arrest and that are stored in archives are returned.

A 2-month's salary is paid at the former place of work or, in the event that the enterprise or institution has been deactivated, at corresponding ministries or departments. Compensation for confiscated property is conducted by financial organs at the place of residence, with the submission of a document provided by investigative or judicial bodies. A governmental decision provides that in the event of a posthumous rehabilitation the family is granted a pension for loss of a breadwinner.

In the event that conflict situations should arise, rehabilitated citizens or their heirs can submit a statement to local judicial and prosecutor organs and, if necessary, to the Office of the USSR Prosecutor where a special section has been set up to handle these questions.

Moldavian Evictees 'Fully Rehabilitated'

LD1504135189 Moscow TASS in English 1341 GMT 15 Apr 89

[Text] Kishinev April 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Soltys:

The Council of Ministers of the Soviet Republic of Moldavia has cancelled the 1949 decision of the Moldavian Government on the eviction from Moldavia of kulaks (well-to-do peasants), former landlords and merchants. All the evicted persons have been fully rehabilitated. However, the decision does not extend to those who collaborated with Romanian and Nazi invaders.

"Perestroyka has made an impact on all the spheres of our life. History is no exception. The restoration of social justice with regard to the people who fell victim to repressions during the years of Stalin's personality cult is undoubtedly not only an act of genuine humanism, but also the elimination of 'blank spots' in the history of our territory", Professor Vladimir Tsaranov, director of the Institute of History under the Moldavian Academy of Sciences, told TASS, commenting on this decision.

Professor Tsaranov described measures taken against part of the peasants in 1949 as erroneous and illegal. Their consequences were really tragic. Some 5,000 families were evicted to Siberia and Kazakhstan, he said.

The Moldavian Government is drawing up a draft resolution on the order, terms and volume of the return of property to the rehabilitated people or the payment of compensation. It was also decided to give dwellings to them out of turn.

Moldavian Draft Laws on Language Released

Presidium Issues Decree

PM1304134589 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 31 Mar 89 p 1

[Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on Moldavian SSR Draft Laws "On the Status of the State Language of the Moldavian SSR" and "On the Functioning of Languages on the Territory of the Moldavian SSR"]

[Text] The Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees:

1. That the drafts of the Moldavian SSR Laws "On the Status of the State Language of the Moldavian SSR" and "On the Functioning of Languages on the Territory of the Moldavian SSR" presented to the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium be submitted for discussion by the people. These drafts must be published in the republican newspapers 31 March 1989.

2. That the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet legislative proposals commission, the commission for questions of interethnic relations and international education, and the commission for public education, science, and culture be instructed to examine the proposals and comments which will come in during the people's discussion of these drafts, and to make the relevant proposals.

The rayon and city soviets of people's deputies must organize the generalization of the proposals and remarks made on the draft laws by the people's deputies, citizens, labor collectives, and public organizations and presented by the mass media.

The republican press organs, television, and radio must generalize the proposals and remarks they receive on the draft laws.

The items about the generalization of proposals and remarks on the drafts of the Moldavian SSR Laws "On the Status of the State Language of the Moldavian SSR" and "On the Functioning of Languages on the Territory of the Moldavian SSR" are submitted to the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet commissions every 10 days until 31 May 1989.

3. That the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers complete the drafting of the State Comprehensive Program for ensuring the functioning of languages on the territory of the Moldavian SSR, and present it within the established procedure for examination at a routine session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

[Signed] A. Mokanu, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,

N. Kiriyak, secretary of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,

Kishinev, 30 March.

Status of State Language Draft Law

PM1304140389 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 31 Mar 89 p 1

[Draft Law of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) on the Status of the State Language of the Moldavian SSR—SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA headline]

[Text] With a view to improving ethnic language relations on the territory of the Moldavian SSR, ensuring the development of the Moldavian language, giving it state language status, and at the same time ensuring the free use and development of the languages of other peoples, the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

That the Moldavian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law) be supplemented by Article 70, to read as follows:

"Article 70. The Moldavian language is the state language of the Moldavian SSR. The Moldavian SSR guarantees the all-around development of the Moldavian language and its functioning in the republic's political, economic, social, and cultural life.

"The functioning of the Russian language, recognized as the language of interethnic communication, is guaranteed in the Moldavian SSR, as is the creation of conditions for the equal development and functioning of the language of the Gagauz ethnic group, most of whom live in the republic, and of Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Yiddish, and the languages of other nationalities living compactly on the territory of the Moldavian SSR.

"The procedure for the functioning of languages on the territory of the Moldavian SSR is laid down by legislation of the USSR and the Moldavian SSR."

Functioning of Languages Draft Law

PM1404120189 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 31 Mar 89 pp 1-2

[Draft Law of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) on the Functioning of Languages on the Territory of the Moldavian SSR]

[Text] The democratization of all aspects of the country's state and public life and the growth of national self-awareness give rise to the need to improve interethnic relations, including ethnic language relations.

As a sovereign, equal republic within the USSR, the Moldavian SSR is called upon to ensure the Moldavian people's all-around development. With the Moldavian nation, on the republic's territory, there lives the larger part of the Gagauz ethnic group and representatives of other nations, most of whom have appropriate state formations outside the republic.

Under the conditions of the republic's developing linguistic activity, this law is aimed at implementing a very important principle of our unified multinational state—the principle of the equality of the languages of the peoples of the USSR, the principle of citizens' equality irrespective of their national allegiance and native language, and the principle of the free choice of the languages of instruction and education.

Taking into account the multinational composition of the republic's population, this law lays down the legal foundations for the official use of the state language of the Moldavian SSR, the Russian language as the language of interethnic communication, and also of the Ukrainian, Gagauz, Bulgarian, Yiddish, and other languages of the population living in compact pockets [kompaktno] on the territory of the Moldavian SSR.

The law does not regulate the use of languages in daily life, in communication between individuals, in military units, or in institutions of the military type.

The regulation of the functioning of languages on the territory of the Moldavian SSR is designed to promote the growth of the republic's socioeconomic potential and the mutual enrichment of national cultures, the improvement of interethnic relations, and the cohesion and cooperation of the USSR's nations and ethnic groups.

Chapter I. General Provisions

Article 1. In accordance with the Moldavian SSR Constitution, the Moldavian language is the state language and is used in all spheres of life and activity on the republic's territory. Citizens of the Moldavian SSR are called on to use the conditions which are being created to master the republic's state language.

The Russian language is the means of interethnic communication.

In areas where it lives in compact pockets [kompatknogo prozhivaniya] the population of another nationality is guaranteed the use of its native language in all spheres.

Article 2. The principle of equal ethnic-Russian and Russian-ethnic bilingualism is recognized as the norm for official linguistic mutual relations between representatives of different nationalities living together on the territory of the Moldavian SSR.

The organs of state power and management and public education, and the leaders of enterprises, institutions, and organizations must create the material base and other necessary conditions for implementing the principle of real, equal bilingualism.

Article 3. The status of the Moldavian language as the state language does not infringe on the constitutional right of citizens of other nationalities living on the territory of the Moldavian SSR to use their native language, and does not prevent the free use and development of other languages.

Article 4. The propaganda of hatred and disdain for the language of any nationality living on the territory of the Moldavian SSR and the creation of artifical obstacles and restrictions in the use of languages functioning in the republic entails the penalty laid down by the legislation of the USSR and the Moldavian SSR.

Chapter II. Functioning of Languages in the Activity of the Organs of State Power and Management

Article 5. The state language is the language of the work of the organs of state power and management of the Moldavian SSR, and is used at sessions and working conferences. People who do not know the state language are provided with a translation into the language of interethnic communication or into the other languages functioning in the republic. Clerical work is in the state language and the language of interethnic communication.

The local organs of state power and management on a territory with a compact population pocket [s kompatknym prozhivaniyem naseleniya] of non-Moldavian nationality use the native language or the language of interethnic communication. People who do not know these languages are provided with the appropriate translation.

Article 6. Acts of the organs of state power and administration of the Moldavian SSR are adopted and published in the state language and the language of interethnic communication.

Acts of local organs of state power and management on territories with a compact population pocket of non-Moldavian nationality are also adopted and published in the language of the relevant nationality.

Article 7. Documentation on elections of people's deputies is in the state language and the language of interethnic communication and in areas with a compact population pocket of another nationality also in the language of the relevant nationality.

To ensure citizens' active participation in the election campaign to elect people's deputies, the biographies of the candidate people's deputies and the ballot papers are printed in the languages used by voters of the relevant okrug.

Chapter III. Functioning of Languages in Labor Collectives

Article 8. In official relations the workers and employees of enterprises, institutions, and organizations on the territory of the Moldavian SSR use the state language or other languages functioning in the republic.

Article 9. The language of internal clerical work for enterprises, institutions, and organizations (except for enterprises, institutions, and organizations of union subordination) is the state language or, when necessary, the language of interethnic communication.

In areas with compact population pockets of another nationality, the languages of the relevant nationalities are also used.

Article 10. Enterprises, institutions, and organizations on the territory of the Moldavian SSR conduct correspondence with enterprises, institutions, and organizations outside the republic in the language of interethnic communication or another language acceptable to the sides.

Article 11. Accounting and financial documentation at enterprises and in institutions and organizations on the territory of the Moldavian SSR is in the state language or language of interethnic communication while reporting, and financial documents to be sent outside the republic are drawn up in the language of interethnic communication.

Article 12. Enterprises, institutions, and organizations on the territory of the Moldavian SSR must ensure conditions in their labor collectives for mastering the state language and the language of interethnic communication and, in areas with a compact population pocket of another nationality, the language of the relevant nationality at a level sufficient to fulfill official duties in the relevant language.

Chapter IV. Language of Legal Proceedings, Arbitration, Notaries' Offices, and Organs for the Registration of Civil Status Documents

Article 13. Legal proceedings in the Moldavian SSR are conducted in the state language or a language acceptable to the majority of the population of a given area. People involved in a case who do not know the language in which the proceedings are being conducted are ensured the right to acquaint themselves in full with the materials of the case, to take part in court actions through an interpreter, and the right to speak in court in their native language.

Investigation and court documents within the procedure laid down by trial legislation are presented to the accused and people involved in the case translated into a language which they know.

Article 14. The organs of state arbitration conduct their activity in the state language and the language of interethnic communication.

Article 15. Notarial clerical work in state notaries' offices and rayon, city, settlement, and rural soviet executive committees is in the state language or a language acceptable to the majority of the population of the given area.

If a person applying for the completion of notarial actions does not know the language in which the clerical work is drawn up, the texts of the documents which are drawn up should be translated for him into the language of interethnic communication.

Article 16. Clerical work in the organs for the registration of civil status documents of the Moldavian SSR is in the state language and the language of interethnic communication.

Chapter V. Language in the Sphere of Education, Science, and Culture

Article 17. The Moldavian SSR ensures for citizens living on the republic's territory the right to receive secondary education in the Moldavian or Russian language and for compact population pocket of another nationality in the language of the relevant nationality.

Article 18. In the Moldavian SSR preschool institutions and general education schools are mainly created on the basis of the principle of monolingualism. They ensure the mastering of the native language, the state language, and the language of interethnic communication. Documentation is in accordance with the language of instruction and education. The creation of mixed preschool institutions and general educational schools is allowed only in exceptional cases.

In mixed preschool institutions and general education schools groups and classes using the native language for instruction and education are organized. Clerical work, meetings, sessions, and audiovisual agitation are carried out equally in the relevant languages.

Educators and teachers in preschool and school institutions must know the language of education and instruction.

Article 19. In vocational and technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational establishments, education and instruction are in the state language. At the same time groups are created in which education and instruction is in Russian, as are national groups for the targeted training of cadres from the ranks of a population of another nationality living in a compact pocket on the territory of the Moldavian SSR.

Graduates of vocational and technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational establishments take a qualifying examination in the state language.

Article 20. Conditions are created for people of non-Moldavian nationality, studying in the republic's educational establishments of all types in their native language, to master the state language and the language of interethnic communication.

Article 21. The Moldavian SSR ensures the defense of dissertations in the state language. The right to defend dissertations in the state language does not exclude the possibility of defending them in the language of interethnic communication or other acceptable language. Documentation on the defense of dissertations is sent to the USSR Council of Ministers Higher Certification Commission in the language of interethnic communication.

Article 22. The Moldavian SSR ensures the publication of scientific works and the propaganda of the achievements of science and culture by the mass media in the state language, the language of interethnic communication, and also in the languages of the population of non-Moldavian nationality living in compact pockets on the territory of the republic.

Article 23. Scientific and practical conferences, symposiums, seminars, and other events of republican and local importance, and the relevant documentation, are in the state language, and in areas with a compact population pocket of another nationality in the native language or language of interethnic communication. Those taking part in events are not restricted in the choice of the language in which they deliver their speech. People who do not know the language of the work of conferences, symposiums, and seminars are ensured a translation into the relevant language.

Article 24. The national cultural societies created within the established procedure enjoy the right to submit proposals for opening preschool institutions, schools, and cultural institutions.

Chapter VI. The Naming of Population Centers. Personal Names

Article 25. Every population center on the territory of the Moldavian SSR has one name in its national form (without translation). The regulation of the spelling of population centers is enshrined in the relevant reference books.

Article 26. The names of squares, streets, institutions, enterprises, organizations, and others are given in one language (without translation into other languages).

Article 27. Every personal name of a citizen of the Moldavian SSR of Moldavian origin consists of a name (or several names) and surname (single or hyphenated). In identity documents the patronymic between the name and surname is used without a suffix. The regulation of the spelling of personal names is enshrined in the relevant reference books. When Moldavian personal names are reproduced in other languages the specific features of their spelling are retained.

Personal names of representatives of the Gagauz ethnic group are written in accordance with spelling in the given language.

The spelling of the personal names of other nationalities living on the republic's territory is not regulated by this law.

Chapter VII. Signs and Information

Article 28. Official forms with the stamp and text in two languages (Moldavian and Russian) are filled in in the state language or other languages functioning in the republic.

Article 29. The texts of seals are written in the state language and the language of interethnic communication.

Article 30. The texts of signboards, announcements, official advertisements, price lists, and other visual information are written in the state language and the language of interethnic communication, and in areas with compact population pockets of another nationality in the language of the relevant nationality.

Labels on goods, stamping, and instructions for goods produced in the republic must contain the necessary information in the state language and the language of interethnic communication.

In all cases the texts of visual information are set out as follows: On the left or on the top—the text in the state language—and on the right or on the bottom—the text in the language of interethnic communication—and are in letters of equal size. Verbal information (advertising, announcements, and so forth) is transmitted initially in the state language and then in the language of interethnic communication.

In areas with compact population pockets of another nationality, the above-mentioned visual and verbal information is also conveyed in the language of the relevant nationality.

Article 31. Correspondence by mail and telegraph inside the territory of the Moldavian SSR is in the state language or the language of interethnic communication, while correspondence sent outside the republic (except for international correspondence) is in the language of interethnic communication.

Chapter VIII. Legal protection of Languages Functioning on the Territory of the Moldavian SSR

Article 32. Existing norms of the Moldavian literary language are observed in the spheres of the official functioning of the state language.

The authors and leaders of the relevant enterprises, institutions, organizations, and departments bear responsibility for observing these norms.

Article 33. The norms of the Moldavian and Gagauz literary languages are elaborated and specified by the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences and are submitted for approval to the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers.

Article 34. The accumulation and storage of books, valuable manuscripts, and other materials on the origin and development of Moldavian and other languages functioning in the republic is carried out in accordance with the Moldavian SSR Law "On the Conservation and Use of Monuments of History and Culture."

Article 35. Officials and specialists for whom a knowledge of the state language and the language of interethnic communication and, in areas with a compact population pocket of another nationality, the language of the relevant nationality are a qualifying requirement for taking up their respective posts must master these languages (a list of these posts is defined by USSR legislation).

Article 36. Citizens can make proposals, statements, and complaints to the state and public organs in any language functioning in the republic. Officials' refusal to accept proposals and complaints or to examine their thrust, giving as the reason their lack of knowledge of the language, is inadmissible and entails the penalty laid down by existing legislation of the USSR and the Moldavian SSR.

Article 37. Violation of citizens' right to choose their language, the humiliation of the dignity of the bearer of any language, deliberate discrimination against the rights of citizens for reasons of language, including in the field of labor law relations, in the representation of nations and ethnic groups in organs of state power and management, in public and independent organizations, and in cooperative and other organs, entails the penalty laid down by existing legislation of the USSR and the Moldavian SSR.

Chapter IX. Procedure for Applying the Law on the Functioning of Languages on the Territory of the Moldavian SSR

Article 38. The application of this law provides for a transitional period. Articles 1, 2, 8, 10, 12, 14, 20, 21, 31, and 36 enter into force on the day it is adopted; articles 6 and 7 and the first and third parts of article 30 enter into force within a year; articles 16, 25, 28, and parts two and four of article 30 enter into force within 3 years; articles 5, 9, 11, 15, 17, article 19, and article 23 enter into force within 5 years; articles 18 and 27 within 7 years; and article 13 within 10 years of the day this law is adopted.

Article 39. Material and technical and financial provision for the implementation of all clauses of the law rests with the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers.

Article 40. Monitoring of the law's execution rests with the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Media Briefed on Draft Laws

PM1204121189 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 1 Apr 89 p 3

[ATEM report: "Briefing Held"]

[Text] On 31 March a briefing was held at the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium for representatives of the republic's mass media. The following took part: N.P. Kiriyak, secretary of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; L.A. Bolgarin, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Legislative Proposals Commission; R.I. Kochetkova, deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Public Education, Science and Culture; V.D. Prokhin, deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Questions of Interethnic Relations and International Education; V.I. Tsurkan, chief of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Legal Department; and well-known scholars, linguists, and lawyers.

It was stressed that the draft Moldavian SSR Laws "On the Status of the Moldavian SSR State Language" and "On the Function of Languages on Moldavian SSR Territory" have been formulated on the basis of the Leninist concept of the function of languages in a multiethnic socialist state, taking into account the practice of language use which has taken shape in our country at present. In accordance with the first law it is proposed to grant the Moldavian language state status. This means that on the republic's territory its function will be guaranteed by the state in all spheres of activity—political, economic, social, and cultural. The status of state national language is meant to guarantee also its legal tie with the Russian language as the language of interethnic communication on the one hand, and with the languages of other nationalities living in Moldavia on the other. The declaration of Moldavian as the state language on the republic's territory certainly does not mean that the rights of Russian and other languages will be infringed, inasmuch as the function of languages in the Moldavian SSR is regulated by the second law.

The briefing's participants called on workers in the republic's press, television, and radio to provide in the press, on television, and on radio objective information on the progress of the discussion of the draft laws, propagandize them widely, and explain them skillfully.

Answers were given to numerous questions put by journalists.

Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Meets

NC0804103989 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau met and discussed the results of the republic's elections of people's deputies of the Soviet Union. It was indicated that these elections were conducted under conditions of enhanced political activity by the workers, and that the election campaign sharpened the people's interest in political life and reflected the wide-scale endorsement of people's sentiments and opinions. An important step was taken towards the future democratization of the reorganization process and the activation of the state's ruling bodies in line with the guidelines of the 27th CPSU Conference and the 19th all-union party conference.

The progress of spring fieldwork in the mixed population areas and in the earthquake zones was examined. It was pointed out that the Armenian Republic's State Agro-Industrial Committee, (?the State Committee for the Use and Conservation of Surface and Underground Water Resources), the local party, and soviet and economic bodies—in cooperation with the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and (?the State Committee for the Use and Conservation of surface and Underground Water Resources)—are undertaking a specific workload to include all types of spring fieldwork in the mixed population areas and in the earthquake zone. Despite this, there are serious shortcomings and errors in the preparation and carrying out of this fieldwork on the part of the republic's State Agro-Industrial Committee, (?the State Committee for the Use and Conservation of Surface and Underground Water Resources), and some rayon party commttees and soviet executive committees of the people's deputies.

The meeting also discussed the initiative of the republic's city and regional labor collectives on the preparation of temporary dormitories for those affected by the earthquake. It was reported that a wide range of construction and rebuilding work has been completed with the help of all the union republics and USSR ministries and supervisory boards. Despite this, it is practically impossible to fully provide the suffering people with housing until the next winter. In view of this, the labor collectives of the republic's cities and regions have suggested setting up more than 22,000 wooden houses and small house trailers by November. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau gave its consent to the labor collectives' offer to extend assistance in the construction of wooden houses and small house trailers.

Party, soviet, ideological, scientific, intellectual, and cultural workers are not maintaining regular contact with the Armenians in temporary residences who were evacuated from the earthquake zone.

During the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau meeting, other issues related to the republic's socioeconomic development and ideological, organizational, and party work were also discussed.

Extensive information on the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau meeting will be published in the press.

Leninakan Party City Committee Plenum Held

NC1104103289 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 10 Apr 89

[Text] The regular plenum of the Leninakan City Committee [gorkom] of the Armenian Communist Party discussed the problems facing the city's party organizations regarding the implementation of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on eliminating the consequences of the earthquake in the Armenian Republic. Mkrtchyan, first secretary of the Leninakan Gorkom, addressed the meeting. Reference was made to the massive and incalculable assistance which the entire Soviet people is providing to eliminate the grave consequences of the earthquake and to return life in the city to normal. The party city organization's efforts have been directed at resolving these problems.

The plenum also drew attention to the insufficient work being done in some of the branches of the city's economy. Not all of the institutions have seriously grasped the grave situation that has developed and taken complex measures to organize production. For example, at the Armenian electracompensator enterprise sufficient care is not shown to the expansion of modern production shops and to the introduction of comprehensive work in order to organize production on the basis of new technological systems in the electro-magnetic conductivity, micro-electrical motors, and compressor production branches.

So far, efforts to place people in jobs remain insufficient. About 36,000 industrious people have not been drawn into communal productive work. The administrators and party organizations at the machine-making industry, automobile and [word indistinct] motors enterprises, and at trade and consumer goods industries are not sufficiently interested in the concerns of the collectives to introduce full work capacity. The party regional committees [raykoms] and gorkoms are not actively participating in the resolution of the aforesaid problems.

At the plenum criticism was levelled against the Plenshin [?planning and construction enterprise] firm whose production volume has not yet been fixed.

The pace of the revival of cultural life is insufficient. The gorkom, its cultural department, and the regional soviets have so far not taken practical measures in this direction.

The plenum regarded the full implementation of the known decisions on the elimination of the earthquake as a priority issue for the party organizations and demanded that all the heads of the party organizational subdivisions radically change their work style and focus their attention on the individual man, on his cares and needs, and contribute to the revival and future development of the city. A plan on the measures worked out by the gorkom was adopted.

The plenum listened to organizational matters and, through top secret voting, Spartak Pavel Petrosyan was elected secretary of the party's Leninakan Gorkom. Until his election, Petrosyan was the first secretary of the Shirak [Noyemberyanskiy] regional committee raykom.

Serobyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, also took part in the plenum.

Armenian Reconstruction Role of Trains 'Enormous'

NC1704131789 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 16 Apr 89

[Text] The role and significance of rail transportation is enormous in the timely reconstruction of our cities and villages destroyed by the earthquake. The reason for this is that everything needed for this timely and qualitative reconstruction enters our republic from various parts of the country via railways. It should be noted that in almost all the republic's rail stations, it is not guaranteed that trains will be unloaded, and this negatively affects the expeditious organization of future work. Working at night is efficient and important for the timely unloading of the trains; unfortunately, this is not fully guaranteed. There is only one way to revive our cities and villages; that is, by not sparing effort and zeal to unload the trains efficiently. Only in this way can we realize the future reconstruction of our Leninakan, Spitak, girovakan, Stepanavan, and many other towns and villages. Much has been said and written on this issue, which means that it is now high time shift from words to action. The December earthquake compels us to be patriots, not in words but in deeds.

Armenian Word "Khorhurt" To Replace Term "Soviet"

NC1204110989 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] In order to eliminate the unnecessary interchangeable use of the terms "soviet" and "khorhurt" [the Armenian term for "soviet"], the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau considered it appropriate to endorse the proposal of the terminology committee affiliated with the Armenian Council of Ministers to reinstate the use of the Armenian word "khorhurt" as a state administrative terminology. Henceforth the terms "khorhurt," "khorhurtayin," and other derivatives of the word will be regularly used instead of the term "soviet" and other derivatives of this term, such as "sovetakan." The decision of the terminology committee will be published in the press.

Terminology Changes Detailed

NC1804091689 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 13 Apr 89

["Decision of the Terminology Committee Affiliated with the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers concerning the use of the word 'khorhurt' in the Armenian language"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] Yerevan, 13 Apr, ARMENPRES—The word khorhurt [council] in the Armenian language means representative body or congregation. Since 1905 this word has been used to mean council of workers representatives. Since 1917 its derivatives khorhurtayin [adjectival form] and khorhurtaynatsum [verb form] became part of usage in Armenian-language press, books, and titles as well as in spoken language.

A decision of the terminology committee in 1940 deleted khorhurt as well as the words gusaktsutyun [party], heghapoghutyun [revolution], sahmanatrutyun [constitution] and hanrabedutyun [republic]. Partia [party], revolutsia [revolution], konstitutsia [constitution], and respublica [republic] were substituted.

In 1966 the terminology committee reinstated the words gusaktsutyun, heghapoghutyun, sahmanatrutyun, and hanrabedutyun and in 1977 decided to replace the compound term soviet of ministers with ministerial khorhurt.

As a consequence of this, a situation was created in contemporary Armenian usage whereby the terms soviet and khorhurt were both used. For example, Supreme Soviet; Soviet of Nationalities; city, regiona and village soviets were used. But ministerial khorhurt, the Central Khorhurt of All-Union Trade Unions, and educational khorhurt were also used.

In order to eliminate the unnecessary usage of both the terms khorhurt and soviet, the terminology committee affiliated with the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has decided the following:

To reinstate the use of the Armenian word khorhurt in state administrative terminology, and henceforth to use the words khorhurt, khorhurtayin, and other derivaties of the word in all instances instead of the term soviet and its derivatives, such as sovetakan.

Thus, the following terms will be used: Union of Khorhurtayin Socialist Republics, Communist Party of Khorhurtayin Union, Communist Party Central Committee of the Khorhurtayin Union, Supreme Khorhurt of the Union of Khorhurtayin Socialist Republics, Russian Khorhurtayin Federal Socialist Republic, Khorhurtayin Armenia, Armenian Khorhurtayin Socialist Republic, Ukrainian Khorhurtayin Socialist Republic, nakhichevan Autonomous Khorhurtayin Socialist Repubic, Khorhurtayin citizen, Khorhurtayin Army, Khorhurtayin authorities, Khordndesutyun [soviet economy], Kaghkhorhurt [city soviet], sherchkhorhurt [regional soviet], Kughkhorhurt [village soviet], and so forth.

NKAO Administration Discusses Economic Progress

NC0804162489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] During its regular session the Special Administration Committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] examined the work of the administrators of the firm No 9 and its subdivisions, and of the industrial organizations, in order to formulate the requirements of the economic plan under conditions of economic (?self) management.

It was reported that the firm has commissioned 5,000 square meters of residential buildings, 1,600 [word indistinct] seat schools and pre-schooling institutes, a conservatory, additional production lines in the electro-technical goods factory, and a number of other buildings. In spite of this, the session pointed out that the directors of the firms and party organizations have not been able to restructure their work and have failed to reach radical [word indistinct] regarding the implementation of the economic plan's requirements, the improvement of the subdivisions' financial standing, and the shift to new methods of economic management. The committee ordered the Stepanakert city party committee [gorkom], rayon party committees [raykoms], Soviet city soviet executive committees [gorispolkoms] and rayon soviet executive committees [rayispolkoms] of the people's deputies to invigorate the management of the restructuring of capital investments, to conduct a more profound study of perfecting the economic mechanism, to speed up timetables for construction, and to increase the potential of the manufacturing industry.

In order to improve the living conditions of the oblast's population and to best (?integrate) the local and general administration, the Special Administration Committee of the NKAO decided to create a production association to cater to the NKAO population's demands for consumer goods.

During the session, the committee also discussed other party and industrial construction matters.

Radio Programs Broadcast in German in Kazakhstan

LD0804163489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0903 GMT 8 Apr 89

[Text] Taldy-Kurgan, (Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic), 8 April. (TASS)—The programs of Taldy-Kurgan Oblast radio are now being broadcast in another language, German. For the first time, a program aired today that was dedicated to the history and culture of Soviet citizens of German ethnic origin, whose forefathers settled in Russia in the 18th and 19th centuries. [passage indistinct]

Further Reportage on Latvian Fronts, Movements

Front Leaders Meet Central Committee

PM1104092789 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 30 Mar 89 p 1

[LATINFORM report: "At the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The leaders of the People's Front of Latvia and the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Interfront were invited to the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee 29 March. During meetings with them Ya.Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee; V.P. Sobolev, second secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee; and G.N. Loskutov, chief of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Organizational Party and Cadre Work Department, discussed ways of alleviating the tension in interethnic relations and consolidating the republic's healthy forces.

It was pointed out that Interfront leaders have still not condemned the irresponsible calls for strikes and for the cessation of the discussion of the language law that have been heard at a number of rallies.

The leaders of the People's Front of Latvia have sometimes groundlessly called into question the resolutions of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

During the meetings, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee secretaries proposed that the fronts' leaders assess in a more principled fashion these destructive actions and appeals, take stricter account of realities within the republic, and actively promote the normalization of the sociopoliticial situation.

The leaders of the People's Front of Latvia and the Latvian SSR Interfront voiced their attitude toward the processes under way within the republic and a number of wishes addressed to the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and noted that the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau proposals would be examined in the leading bodies of both public organizations.

The participants in both meetings voiced a desire for constructive dialogue for the sake of restructuring.

P.P. Lakis, chairman of the People's Front of Latvia Council Board; S.A. Kalniyete, senior secretary; and M.G. Vulfson, member of the board, took part in the meeting representing the People's Front of Latvia.

At the meeting with Interfront leaders the leadership of the Latvian SSR Interfront was represented by I.V. Lopatin, chairman of the Latvian SSR Interfront Republican Council; A.G. Alekseyev, chairman of the Republican Council Presidium; and A.K. Belaychuk, member of the Presidium.

Presidium Criticizes Independence Group

PM1104114589 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 30 Mar 89 p 3

["Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution on the Activity of the Latvian National Independence Movement"]

[Text] Riga, 23 March 1989—Having examined items on the Latvian National Independence Movement, the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium notes that the program, statute, and resolutions adopted at the Latvian National Independence Movement Congress held 18-19 February 1989 in the city of Ogre illustrates that this movement is a sociopolitical organization that denies the possibility of restructuring society by means of sovereignty for the people in the form of the soviets. A number of provisions in these documents contravene the Latvian SSR Constitution.

The movement's program and statute envisage the "restoration of an independent, democratic Latvian state" and the creation of parliamentary democracy based on the principles of the 1922 Latvian Republic Constitution as the end results. These assertions contravene the terms of Article 2 of the Latvian SSR Constitution, which says that the soviets of people's deputies are the political basis of the Latvian SSR, whereby the people exercise state power.

Contrary to the terms of Article 10 of the Latvian SSR Constitution, the movement's program documents deem to be illegal the nationalization of the means of production, which by law are socialist property and form the basis of the economic system within the Latvian SSR; they propose to denationalize the means of production.

Defense of the socialist homeland and military service within the USSR Armed Forces are the constitutional duty of every citizen of the Latvian SSR (Articles 60 and

61 of the Latvian SSR Constitution). However, the Latvian National Independence Movement Congress resolution "On Military and Alternative Service" in effect proclaims the right to refuse military service in the Soviet Army.

The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deems it inadmissible when the Latvian National Independence Movement and other public formations and their members try to resolve complex questions of public life by exerting pressure on organs of state power and kindling emotions and passions.

The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. Considering that the program, statute, and resolutions adopted at the Latvian National Independence Movement Congress contravene fundamental constitutional principles, to demand that the movement bring the former into line with the Latvian SSR Constitution within 2 months. If these demands are not met, the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will take steps to disband and prohibit the activity of this organization.

2. To demand that the Latvian SSR Prosecutor's Office and the Latvian SSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] take resolute steps, under the the Law on Ensuring Law and Order, against members of public formations and other people who engage in antisocial, illegal actions aimed at kindling ethnic dissension and debasing the honor and dignity of citizens. It resolves to inform the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of the steps taken by 1 July 1989.

Signed: A. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and V. Klibik, secretary of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Latvian Communist Party Message to Voters

LD1004170389 Riga CINA in Latvian
31 Mar 89 p 1

[Message to the voters of Soviet Latvia signed by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee]

[Text] To the voters of Soviet Latvia

Dear comrades!

On March 26 of this year, the election of USSR people's deputies from territorial and national territorial constituencies took place. In accordance with the rules on representation, which have been laid down in the law on elections, 40 USSR people's deputies had to be elected from these constituencies. As a result of the ballot, 29 USSR people's deputies were elected in our republic.

The elections of USSR people's deputies clearly showed the trust of the working people in the ideals of restructuring, an unprecedented upswing of the spiritual life of the people. In accordance with the will of the voters, representatives of science, health protection, the Armed Forces, and leaders of the Party, soviets, economic organs, and of the creative intelligentsia were elected people's deputies.

At the same time, among those elected there are no representatives of the working class and of the ordinary people doing agricultural work who form the majority of the republics's inhabitants. In this connection, the Communist Party Latvia Central Committee appeals to labor collectives, party and public organizations, the People's Front of Latvia, the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Working People's International Front, and to all voters of those constituencies where repeat elections and balloting will take place to give preference to the representatives of ordinary working people whose skill, social activity, and public stance is a deciding factor of the revolutionary transformations.

Let us be aware of the permanent importance of those who use machine tools to create material benefits for all of us, to build houses, grow grain, and drive trains, of all of those who by their everyday work increase the national wealth of the socialist fatherland!

May such a choice become an expression of a true and socially just real power of the working people!

[Signed] The Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee

Latvian Council of Ministers Discusses Economy

LD1004090389 Riga in Latvian to Europe
2000 GMT 6 Apr 89

[Text] A meeting of the presidium of the republic's Council of Ministers has been held. The central issue on the agenda was the preparation of Latvia's national economy for a transition to the republic's economic accountability. A report was delivered by Janis Aboltins, deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee. Many speakers at the meeting appealed for the republic's government to take a more active stance against the central ministries and departments.

Vilnis Edvins Bresis, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, described the present situation as follows: Neither at the top nor at the bottom do they want to live in the old way. But the middle level of the administrative apparatus does not wish to restructure itself, and applies brakes to the realization of economic reform.

Working hours in Latvia were also examined. On this matter, opinions were divided. The republic's citizens are requested to express their opinion on versions of working-hours' regimes. Suggestions should be sent to the State Committee of Labor and Social Questions, 85 Lenina Iela, Riga, by 1 May this year.

A report on the meeting of the presidium of the republic's Council of Ministers will be published in the press.

Latvian Peasants Union Established in Riga

LD1504165989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1141 GMT 15 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Riga, 15 Apr (TASS) —TASS Correspondent Tatyana Kovalskaya reports:

For Latvia's peasants, the search for like-minded people to restructure the countryside was not a long one. The idea first broached last fall of setting up an agricultural union in the republic has, by this spring, become a reality. The constituent congress of a peasants' union began work today in the capital of this Soviet Baltic republic. Some 146,000 people already consider themselves members of it. [passage omitted]

Economists and economic planners see the situation that has developed within agriculture as extremely bad. The republic, which in the recent past was famed as a supplier to the world market of top-quality bacon and butter, is nowadays in no fit state even to supply its own population with provisions. In recent decades farmland has declined by 1 million hectares. The development of industry has been excessively forced. The union's program envisages the development of production on the basis of economic methods and the equality of rights for the various types of farming—from the individual peasant farm to the collective and state farms currently in existence.

Estonian Party's Role Debated at Conference

PM1004170989 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 16 Mar 89 p 4

[ETA correspondent R. Amos report: "Conference at Estonian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] A seminar for party city committee [gorkom] and rayon committee [raykom] secretaries in charge of matters of ideological work was held 15 March at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

M. Titma, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke about the ideological situation in the republic and the tasks stemming from it. He emphasized that everything taking place here should be viewed through the prism of statewide affairs. Conservative forces are becoming ever more active as restructuring develops, and the struggle against them is a dialectically inevitable phenomenon. The resistance that has emerged cannot be overcome without uncompromising struggle.

A situation has taken shape in the republic in which Estonians' belief in their people's free and independent development as part of the Soviet Union has been awakened. At the same time, among the Russian-speaking population there is unease regarding their future. This anxiety cannot and should not be ignored, it is necessary to understand it and, simultaneously with this, to ensure the security of each individual.

In connection with Interdvizheniye [International Movement] the idea has arisen, in particular, that its aspirations confuse the rights of nations and the rights of the specific individual. It is completely natural that in Estonia the indigenous nation possesses greater rights rights than any other. At the same time, in no way is it possible to restrict the basic rights of the individual.

The ultimatum-type decisions adopted at the rally around City Hall are unacceptable to the Estonian Communist Party. Any ultimatum is a negation of the existing order, and that has nothing to do with politics. We need compromises—but such compromises as will satisfy both Estonians and the Russian-speaking population. M. Titma analyzed the said decisions profoundly and made a critical evaluation of them.

The seminar also talked about the premises for drafting the programmatic fundamentals of the Estonian Communist Party. From them a document must be formed which defines the Estonian Communist Party's specific tasks in implementing the course of restructuring. They are also to define ways to surmount the economic difficulties, and also to eliminate the tensions arising in interethnic relations. A place will be allocated in the programmatic fundamentals to the ideological-political principles of the Estonian Communist Party's activity, to its place and role in Estonia's history, to its specific activities in the sphere of the economy, youth policy, ecology, and so forth. The Estonian Communist Party's place in the contemporary and future political structure of Estonia will be specified, which, in its turn, will govern the definition of the style and methods of the Estonian Communist Party's activity as a political party.

The Estonian Communist Party's role in the CPSU and the world communist movement and the relationship with the communist parties of the other union republics will be examined separately. Even now a host of specific proposals relating to the programmatic fundamentals is coming in from the party gorkoms and raykoms. It was emphasized in this connection that the proposals and wishes of every Communist will be welcome, and that these should be forwarded to the respective party gorkom and raykom.

The seminar also debated the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee platform for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on the nationalities issue, and there was an exchange of opinions in connection with the upcoming 40th anniversary of the mass deportation from Estonia.

Estonian Party Central Committee Session Held

PM1304141889 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 1 Apr 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "From the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau Session"]

[Text] The agenda for the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau session held 30 March was extensive. But the greatest attention was undoubtedly attracted by its second item—on the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic's [SSR] transition to economic accountability.

A report on this matter was delivered by I. Toome, member of the bureau and chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers. The report was supplemented by Doctor of Economic Sciences R. Otsason, deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic State Planning Committee [Gosplan], who, incidentally, took part in a live television program on the same issue in Moscow the previous evening.

I. Toome reported on how the documents were drawn up and discussed at all levels in our republic and what consultations were held with our neighbors who are also preparing to switch to the principles of territorial economic accountability, and also in Moscow. Matters of the republic's transition to economic accountability were also discussed with the USSR Gosplan leadership and with N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

At the session, opinions were expressed on this issue by all the members and candidate members of the Central Committee Bureau, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, and senior officials of the Central Committee apparatus. They submitted proposals and made observations, but were unanimous that it is a matter of a decision of exceptional importance for the republic's future, a decision that should free the Estonian SSR from the fetters of the command-and-administer system and provide a model for a sovereign Soviet Socialist Republic. It was stressed at the session that the draft general principles for expanding the autonomy of the union republics that has been submitted for nationwide discussion and the IME [Estonian self-management] general concept are not mutually contradictory. They are on different time scales. The all-union principles more or less coincide with our ideas about the conditions that will characterize the transitional period, when commodity-money relations in the country will not yet be operating by any means at full strength, and, simultaneously with the development of market relations, elements of administrative management will continue to exist, albeit in the form of the state order, which should gradually develop into a means of economic influence on the national economy.

It was also stressed that the republic's idealized idea that, after going over to republican economic accountability on 1 January 1990, we will wake up on the morning of 2 January in conditions of a flourishing economy and abundance, is totally unfounded. Major, complex work lies ahead, the results of which will by no means be felt immediately. But as B. Tamm, academician of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences, stressed, what should change immediately and forever is the attitude to labor. If this does not happen and if this change is not backed up by a system of incentives, all the hopes pinned on IME will collapse. Republican economic accountability means, first and foremost, hard work.

In the time remaining before the end of the year we must carefully consider the nature of work to prepare for the transition to economic accountability and define the content and forms of the first transitional stage.

Speakers stressed that the mass media should play a considerable role in explaining, commenting on, and discussing the concept. Republican economic accountability, which serves the interests of all inhabitants of Estonia, can and should form the basis for consolidating all strata and groups of the population.

The bureau approved the main provisions of the draft general concept, as well as the relevant draft laws for the Estonian SSR's transition to economic accountability.

The Estonian SSR Council of Ministers was instructed to speed up practical preparations for the republic's transition to economic accountability from 1 January 1990 and define concrete tasks for the preparatory stage and the first stage and the introduction of economic accountability, as well as the place of every ministry, department, state committee, and rayon and city soviet executive committee in this work.

In the course of the nationwide discussion of the concept for republican economic accountability, it was decided to hold a meeting of the party and economic aktiv on this problem before the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session.

The Central Committee Bureau discussed other items on the agenda; among other things, it examined and approved a plan for priority measures to implement the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum "On CPSU Agrarian Policy in Present Conditions."

An Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum will examine the program for restructuring the Estonian agrarian complex. Scientific institutions are involved in the preparations and meetings with veterans of the collective farm movement and farm leaders are in preparation. The meetings at primary party organizations that have already begun to discuss the CPSU Central Committee Plenum materials should provide useful material for the forthcoming Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum.

The state of ceremonial services in the republic was also examined. Here it was stressed that the development of cooperatives has made it possible to fill some gaps in this sphere, but nonetheless the state of affairs is far from good. Improving ceremonial services should be an important concern of local soviets and their organs. As V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, stressed, party organs have no right to remain aloof, and scientists should be brought in to this work.

Tallinn Green Leader Pokhla Interviewed

PM1404143289 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 7 Apr 89 p 1

[Interview with Vello Pokhla, candidate people's deputy for Kekhraskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 465, member of the editorial collegium of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting "Estonskiy Telefilm" main editorial office, by G. Kacheva prior to 9 April runoff: "Vello Pokhla: 'A Firm Hand Is Essential'"—date, place of interview not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Kacheva] In your opinion, are the "Greens" politicians, or primarily saviors of nature?

[Pokhla] In our day, when the danger of the destruction of all life on earth has become so real, the situation can only be changed if you have political strength. And the ecological issue, the issue of survival, is today a political issue. We are a political force. And we will be even stronger when we become a party.

[Kacheva] But a multiparty system exists only in projects at present....

[Pokhla] We will get there in the end. Democracy without a multiparty system is nonsense.

[Kacheva] Democracy and the ultimatums employed by the "Greens"—is not that nonsense?

[Pokhla] We act emotionally, sharply, perhaps, but please understand: An ultimatum is a means used by people who are driven into a corner. And that is the position we are in today. By we, I mean Estonians, Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians—everyone living in the republic. The tragedy at Sillamyae, the troubles of northeastern Estonia, Tallinn's problems, the soil, food products, and ground water poisoned by pesticides and chemical fertilizers everywhere—this affects all of us. Regardless of nationality. Here our interests coincide. And therefore we should pool our efforts, but as yet the movement's Russian-language groups are small and account for only some 5 percent of the total number.

I respect those fine human qualities of gentleness, tactfulness, and circumspection, but in life, they alone are not enough. The "Greens" are fighting—and that is only natural. You cannot save nature, our health, our life, without fighting.

[Kacheva] All the same, your tough style is reminiscent of the style that all of us agree in condemning, that we are trying to leave behind. Is it, perhaps, more sensible to act not from a position of strength, but with the help of scientists' calculations and the conclusions of authoritative experts?

[Pokhla] Scientists were collecting data and offering recommendations for 3 decades, but no one listened to them. They are helpless without the support of the public, the people. T hey have no political strength, without which, I repeat, it is hard to change anything. The "Green" movement should go along with them, or better still ahead of them. Sound the alarm, dispel illusory well-being, show what is in the true interests of the departments, and what is in the true interests of the people on whose land the departments hold sway.

Now, as to the tough style. I am for democracy, but I recognize the need for strength to preserve and protect democracy. A firm hand is essential. Our movement is now going through a new stage in its development: We are arming ourselves with scientific recommendations, developing "Green" diplomacy....

[Kacheva] And does that explain a certain quiet on the "fronts"?

[Pokhla] Perhaps. Last fall a delegation of the Tallinn "Greens" visited Italy and Poland. The Estonian movement became the first—and as yet the only—member from the Soviet Union of the major international organization "Friends of the Earth." Our "Ethnoecology" program aroused interest among foreign "Greens." Its essence is: The natural link between man and the earth must be restored. My election program also includes a section on the revival of the individual farm [khutor] system. [passage omitted]

What are the attitudes of the "Greens" toward the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Nature Conservation Society?

[Pokhla] Unfortunately we have no contact with them. The society's merits are considerable, we recognize that: Much educational work was done and a contribution was made to the development of regional studies. But today the society needs reorganizing. It needs a new program, a new way of acting: We are prepared to cooperate.

[Kacheva] Your attitude to the republic's "hot spots?"

[Pokhla] The sulfuric acid shop at Maardu should be closed. We are opposed to the building of a car race track at Muuga. The pulp production combine should also be closed: Look at the expenditure—we are not making pulp, but gold. And these huge costs do not include the funds necessary to restore the environment. And who is counting those costs now? Our demand is that expenditure on the regeneration of the environment and the healing of the wounds inflicted on nature be included in the cost of the goods and services produced.

[Kacheva] You could close the enterprise. Or you could modernize it. Is the first option preferable, in your view?

[Pokhla] We have no comparatively clean technologies. They must be found somewhere, bought—that is very troublesome for the production workers. They are planning to extend the Kekhra pulp and paper factory on the basis of obsolete technology. What does this mean? You only have to spend a day in Kekhra, breathe its air, visit the factory shops—and everything becomes clear.

[Kacheva] Your opinion on the Estonian SSR Law on Citizenship?

[Pokhla] The law is necessary, but the proper mutual understanding does not yet exist among the various population groups, and the situation is complex.... There must be a qualitative breakthrough in our mutual relations, and I believe it will come. We must find a common language, man must not stand against man: We have, after all, a common history in many respects and a common destiny, and we have to live together. We all should remember that.

Current Mood in Estonian Republic Assessed

LD1404131289 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Raul Malk commentary]

[Text] The elections drew our attention away from some issues of internal policy in Estonia which had been keeping us agitated. Even if the second round of elections has not yet been held, various tensions and dangers are forcing us to reopen the subject. By the way, it is being felt that a state of agitation is of use to somebody for the purpose of the Sunday elections.

Of particular concern at the moment is the situation in Tallinn. In one or another enterprise of union subordination passions keep flowing over and again party workers need to hurry to the spot in order to explain and persuade, again and again. Things have turned out to be more complicated in several bigger collectives: RET, Elekrotehnika, Dvigatel, and so on. I am of the same opinion as Voldemar Pinn who in SIRP JA VASAR [of 31 March] brings out the features characteristic of the psyche of ignorant masses: Boldness and the adoption of the right to behave with insistence, simplification, and overstraining of feelings, bowing to authority.

Yesterday, I was present at a meeting of Kalinin Rayon party organization secretaries. A fairly sensible and substantial discussion had been in progress when someone in the auditorium demanded to know why things had not been put in order by resorting to force. I fear that the reiteration of the explanation of how it is impossible to resolve Estonian affairs with force did not strike the mark with the person who asked the question.

Prior to the Estonia Communist Party Central Committee's 11th Plenum, extensive attention was paid to the Tallinn City Committee bureau adopting a position in respect of the political situation. Today's OHTULEHT carries a thought-provoking approach, this time signed by the working group analyzing the political situation attached to the ideology commission of the Tallinn City Party Committee. The general model for viewing events and trends is actually familiar from before. On several occasions Mikk Titma has spoken about how the extremists have become more active and amplified each other.

On the one hand, the working group sets out the forces who make a stand for a so-called return to the times of the Estonian republic. The activity of the society for the preservation of the national heritage, ERSP [Estonian National Independence Party], and others is mentioned, with the purpose of setting up citizens' committees from among the indigenous population; those are to lead to the convening of the Estonian congress. The document emphasizes that an alternative system of organs of authority to the soviet organs should be categorically condemned and blocked.

On the other hand, the document highlights those who are even against the minutest changes in the lives of the indigenous population and endeavor to retain the administrative-bureaucratic system. The working group mentions the appeals of the intermovement's congress for sowing chaos, uncertainty, and fear. The United Council of Work Collectives and the republican Council of Representatives of Strike Committees of Estonian SSR Enterprises are not mentioned by name. But at the same time the working group notes the fresh danger of a political general strike against restructuring as a whole, even if the slogans of its organizers may speak of something else.

Evidently keeping the Dvigatel in mind, the document notes endeavors to place work collectives higher than the soviet power and its laws. Law and order organs are seeking to bring to account persons making statements which ignore some provisions of the law, incite ethnic hatred, or offend and slander citizens.

With great concern it is being acknowledged in the document that confrontations among public organizations are being transferred into the party. Ideas diverging from these of the Communist Party of Estonia are being brought in. In this respect the split being caused by the intermovement is being highlighted here—its attempt, with the help of an extraordinary congress or conference to reshape the leading bodies according to the principle of nationality. Within the framework of such an approach it is being considered necessary to strengthen the centrist trend. Serving as a basis for this should be the resolutions of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee's 11th and 13th Plenums and, first and foremost, the much discussed action plan of the Communist Party of Estonia for the next few years.

It is being considered possible to rally forces around the latter and to avert a split of both the Tallinn party organization and the Communist Party of Estonia. The document says: The crisis must be stopped before the split in the party becomes insurmountable.

We have reached the starting points. The action program must be based on clear understandings of what in fact has happened in our history, what socialism means for us and life within the composition of the USSR. The assessment of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, the creation of necessary opportunities for self-managing Estonia, and several other issues have their roots in Moscow. For some time already everything that will take place in Estonia has been depending upon what decisions are made or not made in this big city, in quite a new way. So long as there is nothing clear about the main issue, the chaos in society will continue. A week is left before the 14th plenum of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee. Is that little or a lot?

Territorial Divisions of CPSU Explained

PM1704091189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Apr 89 Second Edition p 3

[A. Petrushov article under the rubric "Questions, Opinions, Arguments: Principle of Party Building": "About Republic Communist Parties"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] "The current CPSU Statutes were approved at the 27th party congress, 1 March 1986. They speak of national communist parties as something taken for granted. But precisely this is puzzling: Then how many communist parties do we have? My question is probably naive, but the answer to it is very simple. Nevertheless, I ask the editors to provide at least a brief explanation about this. G. Dmitriyevskiy, Kerch."

No, it is not such a simple question. To answer it, we will have to turn to the history of party building. Let us state right away that our party did not have such subdivisions prior to 1918. The party organizations of the country's national regions came under the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) [RCP(B)] on a universal basis. But then the first congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine was held in July 1918 and announced the merger of the Communist Party of the Soviet Ukraine with the RCP(B). October-December of that same year saw the formation of the communist parties of Lithuania, Belorussia, Latvia, Estonia.... The question arose: On what basis should they be within the Russian Communist Party?

It was clear that, as a form of relations among the Soviet republics, a federation was unacceptable for building the party which V.I. Lenin had created as a unified centralized organization. This is its strength. It was no coincidence that this question occupied an important place in the work of the Eighth RCP(B) Congress, held 18-23 March 1919. The congress recognized the creation of the communist parties of the soviet national republics and laid down that they are constituent parts of the unified RCP(B), while the communist parties' central committees enjoy the rights of oblast committees and are wholly subordinate to the unified Central Committee. That decision accorded with the principle of proletarian internationalism.

The communist parties of the Transcaucasian republics—Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia—were formed in 1920. Following the national demarcation of the Central Asian republics, the communist parties of the Kazakh, Kirghiz, Tajik, Turkmen, and Uzbek union republics took shape. Following the formation in 1922 of a unified state—the Soviet Union—the 14th party congress (18-31 December 1925) adopted a resolution renaming the party the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

Today communist parties exist in all the union republics except the Russian Federation. In this connection the newspaper receives many letters, whose writers ask us to explain why this happened, what are the reasons for this. Let us return to the decisions of the 14th congress, at which this problem was specially broached. You have to bear in mind here that Stalin did not play a wittingly malicious role in this. At the time he still to some extent took V.I. Lenin's instructions and the will of the majority into consideration. From what premise did the congress proceed in renaming the Russian Communist Party?

The party organization of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] occupied an exceptionally large place in the party then. The congress considered that the formation of a Russian party, and thus the formation of a Russian Central Committee, would pose a threat to party unity because it would virtually lead to the creation of two parallel leading organs. Taking this circumstance into account, the congress deemed it expedient for the leadership of the kray and oblast organizations operating on RSFSR territory to be exercised directly by the party's Central Committee.

The question suggests itself: What is the situation now? Is it expedient to adhere to a guideline adopted 64 years ago? Let us turn to the materials of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. We find the following figures in the report of the Credentials Commission. Of the 5,000 party conference delegates, 2,933 were elected from the party organizations of Russian Federation krays and oblasts. By way of comparison: There were 891 delegates from the Ukraine, 191 from Belorussia, 178 from Uzbekistan, 225 from Kazakhstan, 106 from Georgia, 104 from Azerbaijan, 56 from Lithuania, 52 from Moldavia, 53 from Latvia, 40 from Kirghizia, 33 from Tajikistan, 51 from Armenia, 31 from Turkmenistan, and 32 from Estonia. As is known, 1 delegate represented 3,780 party members. In other words, there are more than 11 million CPSU members in Russia—more than half the party.

It should be said that the CPSU Central Committee has repeatedly addressed questions of improving party leadership of RSFSR oblasts and krays. In his report at the 20th party congress, N.S. Khrushchev frankly declared that a special party organ at the center is needed to ensure more concrete and efficient leadership of the oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics of the Russian Federation. The Central Committee soon created such an organ. It was the CPSU Central Committee Bureau for the RSFSR. The statute on it entered the party statutes.

This party organ functioned for 10 years. L.I. Brezhnev's report at the 23d congress in 1966 stated that there was no longer any need to preserve the Bureau because, even with the Bureau in existence, all the most important questions of the activity of kray and oblast party organizations in the Russian Federation were examined by the CPSU Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat. Therefore it was inexpedient to have another parallel organ of the CPSU Central Committee for the Russian Federation. According to the resolution adopted "On Partial Changes to the CPSU Statutes," the instruction that the Central Committee creates the CPSU Central Committee Bureau for the RSFSR was dropped from Paragraph 39.

Expulsion of Medunov From Party Examined

Medunov Comments

PM1404141689 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 15, 9 Apr 89 p 5

[Nataliya Gevorkyan feature incorporating interviews with former Krasnodar party chief Sergey Medunov and CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee official Aleksey Safronov: "Sergey Medunov After Being Expelled From the Party: "I'm Not Connected With the Grave Errors of the Past"']

[Text] The press carried reports saying that Sergey Medunov, former first secretary of the Krasnodar territory party committee, had been expelled from the party. Following this, we started receiving phone calls: "Why has this decision been taken only now? What specifically is Medunov guilty of?"

Nearly seven years have passed since Sergey Medunov, four times the bearer of the Order of Lenin and Hero of Socialist Labour, was transferred from Krasnodar to Moscow where he was offered the job of deputy minister of fruit and vegetable growing of the USSR. Almost six years have passed since he retired on a pension of 250 roubles a month. In the past three years he has not given a single interview, although his name has been mentioned in the press more often perhaps than those of Rashidov, Kunayev, Aliyev, Churbanov and Grishin. Our correspondent Nataliya Gevorkyan met with Medunov at his home.

A government-owned house, a large flat with modest furniture—there is nothing which can't be seen in hundreds of other Moscow apartments. Medunov has grown old and his cheeks are sunken. His hands tremble, as does his voice occasionally. But sometimes there are signs of that former Medunov whom many remember: His eyebrows furrow, his eyes take on a piercing look, his voice grows stronger and his gestures become vigorous. This happened when he discussed with me the successes which, he believed, had been undeservedly forgotten.

Seventy-four years old now, he graduated from the higher party school and is candidate of science (economics). He joined the party in 1942 and started the career of a party functionary by becoming the secretary of a local party organization way back in the Army. Then he was secretary of a district party committee in the Crimea, first secretary of the Yalta city party committee, first secretary of the Sochi city party committee, chairman of the Krasnodar territory executive committee, first secretary of the Krasnodar territory party committee....

Q.: We read the usual formula: relieved from the duty of first secretary of the territory party committee in connection with a change in employment. What actually happened?

A.: My "change of employment" was prepared in secret in the upper echelons of the party leadership. I was notified that a decision had been taken to relieve me of my duty in connection with the transfer to a different job. At a plenary meeting of the territory party committee, CPSU Central Committee Secretary Kapitonov announced this decision and a resolution was passed without any discussion.

Q.: What turn did your life take after your retirement on pension?

A.: A bad turn. My younger son died, and my wife died a year later. Real friends maintain good relations with me.

Q.: Have you changed during these years, have you reconsidered anything about your life?

A.: Time changes every person, but I haven't reconsidered my convictions of devotion to Soviet power and the patriotic feelings towards my motherland.

Q.: Who supported you in your political career?

A.: I have never been an office seeker. My promotions weren't the result of someone's protection.

Q.: The abuses, which were once brought to light in the Krasnodar territory, including those among its party functionaries, are widely known. It is hard to believe that the first secretary was unaware of this. Rumour directly links your name to the system of corruption and graft, which flourished at the time of your holding the office of first secretary of the territory party committee.

A.: There were abuses in the territory even before my work there, there were abuses during my work there and there are probably abuses even now. The abuses which the territory party committee was informed of received a principled assessment. If the corresponding bodies had released the actual information about me and about my work, there would have been no rumours associating my name with different kinds of abuses.

Q.: Did you realize that the Krasnodar story was not finished? Have you worried all these years that it would surface again?

A.: I did not and still do not understand what is meant by the "Krasnodar story". I have committed no crime to be afraid of. But I feel a great spiritual pain from the slander, calumny, insults and humiliation which I have experienced, including baiting by the mass media.

Q.: Is the decision to expel you from the party justified in your view?

A.: In considering the question of my expulsion from the party, the demands of the CPSU rules on ensuring the maximum of attention and the most careful examination of the charges levelled at a Communist were violated. The local organization—that of the Voluntary Society for Assistance to the Army, Air Force and Navy with which I was registered—ruled that the case should be limited to a discussion. The buro of the Gagarinskiy District party committee ignored this decision. The expulsion procedure developed in accordance with a scenario drawn up well in advance with an accusatory tone. I consider the decision to expel me from the party to be unjust.

Q.: In the opinion of many of our readers, it is not only your name that is associated with the grave errors of the past. Several other people still remain in the party and continue living quietly on a pension. Are you not surprised by this?

A.: I'm not connected with the grave errors of the past. Nor can I assess whether other's membership in the party for which they receive a pension is justified, because I do not possess sufficient information about them. [Medunov ends]

During our lengthy conversation Medunov denied that he screened bribe takers, tried to help them evade responsibility and interfered with the work of the procurator's office. For him, as he told me, the decision to expel him from the party after so many years came like a bolt from the blue.

Our reporters turned to the Gagarinskiy District party committee in an attempt to find out why the decision on Medunov's expulsion was taken seven years after his resignation. It turned out that Medunov had been registered with the district party committee for only two years. As soon as it received his documents from the Party Control Committee (PCC), the district party committee studied them and passed a decision.

We requested Aleksey Safronov, executive controller of the PCC attached to the CPSU Central Committee, to answer the same question. He said:

"In April 1982, a group of officials of the PCC and other Central Committee departments went to Krasnodar to investigate in July of the same year, the Central Committee and a plenary meeting of the Krasnodar territory party committee passed a decision on Medunov's relief in connection with his transfer to a different job in June 1983. At a plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Medunov's membership of the Central Committee was cancelled because he had seriously discredited himself. The report was made by Konstantin Chernenko. The plenary meeting, however, inflicted no penalty on Medunov along party lines and gave the PCC no instructions to this effect. Since the cancellation of one's Central Committee membership does not amount to a party penalty, the party bodies and newspapers started receiving letters demanding that Medunov be brought to account as a party member. After the 19th party conference the party Central Committee instructed the PCC to examine letters and materials on Medunov."

Q.: Was Medunov in a position to acquaint himself thoroughly with the charges levelled at him?

A.: Of course, he was. He carefully studied his personal case and all the documents of the district party committee. Nobody limited him in time. I met him several times to discuss the substance of the accusations that had been brought up. I want to stress that Medunov's expulsion from the party has nothing in common with his managerial or economic activities. In this respect he had his merits and demerits. But in the given case, the issue was entirely different: his shielding of bribe takers, helping them evade criminal responsibility, and discrediting the procurator's office workers. By absolving even one bribe taker from responsibility, he had a corrupting effect on personnel all along the line.

Q.: Medunov insists that no criminal proceedings were instituted against him, that the procurator's office has no material against him. And this is so. But is it necessary to wait till the procurator's office gets the material to call a discredited party functionary to account?

A.: He does not bear legal responsibility, but he is liable to be punished along party lines. And the party's rules have not been violated. There is the principle of democratic centralism, and the question could be immediately solved by the district party committee, without the local organization.

Q.: Does Medunov retain his orders and titles?

A.: This question is decided not by the PCC, but by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Q.: Our conversation is not based on the facts. And yet Medunov asserts that he has no relation whatsoever to the persecutions of Deputy Procurator-General Naydenov and never shielded the party leaders Merzlyy and Voronkov of Sochi.

A.: Facts refuting this assertion can be found in his personal file. They have been carefully checked and brought to his attention. This concerns Naydenov, Merzlyy, Tarada and Voronkov alike. The prescribed order does not permit me to make public the data from the personal case of one or another person. [Safronov ends]

When this material was already prepared for print, Medunov sent us a text with a request to publish it. In it he insists that his expulsion from the party amounts to a victimization which was carried out stage by stage, beginning in the late 1970s. He reaffirms that the accusations against him are "groundless and biased", that he never sheilded or absolved anyone from criminal responsibility, that he "never posed the question of relieving Naydenov and did not compromise him anywhere or before anybody". Medunov also says that he will appeal to the higher party bodies.

'Medunov Phenomenon' Cited

PM1404142089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 15, 9 Apr 89 p 5

[Vitaliy Tretyakov commentary: "The 'Medunov Phenomenon'"]

[Text] I do not believe Medunov. But in legal terms this is, of course, of no relevance whatsoever.

Medunov has been expelled from the Party. But even this fact is legally neutral: An inner-Party case has been settled by inner-party methods. This has no relation to the law before which all citizens must be equal. However, a new political and psychological phenomenon has arisen in our society. It can be termed the "Medunov phenomenon"—the responsibility toward a former high-ranking leader relieved by the party from some posts. If there are legally cogent proofs that he is guilty of specific crimes, the court must have its say. And this say will put an end to the matter according to the law. But if they don't exist?

The whole point is that in Brezhnev's and practically also in Stalin's times, leaders of Medunov's rank had a real possibility to exercise leadership as they liked and in respect to whatever they liked, outside the bounds of the law. The most clever, farsighted or cunning of them (may everyone choose his own epithet) were able to take advantage of this in full measure. It may have been an oral instruction, a telephone call, the tone of voice which cannot be recorded in the minutes. The law cannot be used for putting on trial those who stood above the law, because society permitted them to be in that position, or, to put it more accurately—they themselves appropriated this right which no one contested in real earnest.

Was Medunov's patron Brezhnev to blame for whatever happened to the country in the 1970s? Legally, he was not. Politically and morally, he was. But these are different categories of guilt.

Was Medunov, who for the Krasnodar Territory was the same as Brezhnev was for the whole country, to blame for the many and varied crimes perpetrated in a territory ruled by him? I am afraid that legally only one thing can be attributed to him—"non-information". It is difficult, if at all possible, to prove this.

Being a boss himself and, simultaneously, a subordinate of the biggest boss, Medunov did not live, work, or exist in any other system except the "chief-subordinate" system. Moreover, it will be recalled, these relationships were not such in legal terms: the law did not make it incumbent on any of the inhabitants of the Krasnodar Territory to obey Medunov. Power as well as the abuses of power, existing outside the law, are quite capable of leaving no traces in the records of the bodies called upon to asess how the law is being followed.

There is a need to understand that juridically we shall never find a way out of this situation. May those who want to try Medunov and other "formers" try and prove that the reverse is true. An element of the system is not repsonsible for its instrinsically inherent sins. It's a different matter if he was caught in the act of pickpocketing. But even then he may be tried only for pickpocketing, not for belonging to the system.

What is the way out? A situation which seems absurd, but is very real in actual fact, has been created politically. It can also be resolved politically - through the establishment of a state committed to the rule of law. By placing all that exists and operates in society within the bounds of the law, we shall receive the right to judge all in accordance with the law. But this law can hardly be retroactive.

Above the political court there is a higher one—the moral. It is possible not to shake hands, not to say hello, and to despise. This is at the level of person-to-person relations. At the social level there is a need to make public all the shady deals of everyone—primarily those of the leaders. Unless this happens, rumours, gossip, fantastic sums of bribes, etc., will keep snowballing. Psychologically, this is clear.

It is Medunov's right to speak, it is our right to believe or disbelieve. I disbelieve, but legally this is of no relevance whatsoever.

Ukraine Donetsk Oblast Racketeering Trial Opens

LD1304020589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Apr 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The trial of a group of persons accused of extortion of large sums of money, intimidation, and violence has opened at the Donetsk Oblast court.

[Correspondent G. Kondaurov] The group operated over an 18-month period in Donetsk Oblast. There are 11 people in the dock. Among them are Konovalov, formerly an officer of the Kievskiy Rayon militia department in Donetsk; Beritskiy, manager of a liquor store; Barkholenko, a candidate master of sports in wrestling; as well as persons who have several previous convictions. One of the latter—Kitoyevskiy—has had a national arrest warrant issued for him. The 35 volumes of the criminal case history list a number of brutal crimes which raised a great outcry in Donetsk. Victims Belovolov, manager of a canning factory and fruit storehouse, and Ostapov, a doctor, testified that the extortionists beat them up and used teargas and a hot soldering iron to torture them, demanding a ransom of R50,000-R60,000. The crimes include the murder of Samoylenko, chairman of the Luch trade and procurement cooperative; intimidation of six cooperative members with the aim of seizing R200,000; violent robberies at the Donetsk Center of Youth Scientific and Engineering Creativity and at a savings bank; and extortion of sums of money from clergymen and people involved in individual labor activity. The court will hear testimony from many victims and from more than 100 witnesses. It is anticipated that the case will end in mid-May. [video shows the courtroom, the prisoners at the dock, witnesses on the stand, and the panel of judges]

[Kondaurov] Can you describe the offences which are being examined in this case as racketeering and organized crime?

[Investigator V.I. Shishkin, identified by caption] Yes, absolutely so. This case illustrates precisely organized crime and racketeering. The point is that a militia officer, an officer of the CID [Criminal Investigation Department]—Senior Lieutenant Konovalov—headed the criminal groups. He gathered around himself various people, including some from the criminal world. These criminal groups were noted for a high degree of organization, being armed, and working out specific plans for crimes and carrying them out. Konovalov directed all the operations. The case shows precisely that racketeering and organized crime have become a phenomenon to be reckoned with for law enforcement bodies and the public too. A law has been passed in the Russian Federation which is directed at fighting organized crime and racketeering. Here in the Ukraine there is, for the time being, no such criminal law. Naturally we lawyers—and I think that the public supports us in this—want such a criminal law to appear in other union republics, and not just in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic].

Paper Calls for More Glasnost in Party Control

PM1004110289 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Editorial office response to readers' letter urging more glasnost in the work of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, as part of "Letters '...Not for Publication'" feature; letter and response published under heading: "Zone Beyond Criticism"]

[Text] From the editorial office: More and more facts are now emerging that indicate that even in the times of stagnation the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee resisted corruption and fought for the purity of party ranks. By virtue of the Party Control Committee's special nature and the characteristics of those times, the process was often far from simple, and the results were by no means always made public.

As for the present period, one can hardly agree with the authors of the letter that the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee is an absolutely closed organization. Let us cite, for example, IZVESTIYA No 275, which published a report on M.S. Solomentsev's being released from his duties as chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. In IZVESTIYA for 24 March 1989 there was a report on the results of the examination of the issue of "The Unworthy Behavior of Party Member Comrade S.F. Medunov as First Secretary of Krasnodar CPSU Kray Committee." And in No 344 for 1988—"On Self-Seeking Abuses by CPSU Member Ya.S. Nasriddinova." The list could be longer.

All the same, the authors of the letter to IZVESTIYA are right, in our view, in saying that glasnost should be extended everywhere, even in the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. We think this is also promoted by the appearance of publications like IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS.

Trade Union Official Cited on Role of Unions

AU1404181689 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 13 Apr 89 p 3

[Interview with Viktor Mishin, secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, by TRUD Moscow correspondent Petur Minev: "Liberation of the Individual"—place, date not given]

[Text] The recent election campaign was a serious test for the Soviet trade unions. Under conditions of full glasnost and democracy, millions of working people subjected the election platform of past activities of the trade unions to criticism, before casting a vote of confidence for trade union candidates. The evaluation was positive, but numerous requests were submitted to this largest mass organization which is called upon to watch over the working people's interests and to protect them against administrative diktat. Restructuring the trade unions—this was the subject of an interview by our

Moscow correspondent Petur Minev with Viktor Maksimovich Mishin, secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU].

[Minev] Viktor Maksimovich, do the trade union activists still dance the "Krakoviyak" around party bosses and economic managers, as Mikhail Gorbachev expressed it?

[Mishin] Some of them are still dancing for the time being, but not of their own free will. Our present system is such that the chairman of a trade union committee has to think about his future, if he is not reelected to this prestigious but difficult post. On the other hand, the trade union functionary receives all kinds of bonuses when the administration proposes him for such remunerations. This involves direct economic dependency and we would be naive, at best, not to take this fact into account.

This is the reason why we are trying to reduce this dependency to a minimum by expanding the rights of primary organizations to increase the amount of trade union leaders' remunerations, and to promote highly qualified workers to such positions by preserving their average wages, as well as to establish additional remunerations for those trade union committee chairmen who are not on the payroll.

Nevertheless, times are changing. We cannot fail to observe that the party is openly renouncing the outdated forms of leadership in the social organizations. However, we should consider another evident fact—that this is merely a precondition for the full liberation of the trade union leader's initiative. Everything depends upon man's choice—whether he is capable of facing conflict for the sake of the cause, for the sake of truth and justice. He should also be supported by the collective because a passive environment cannot produce a worthy leader.

[Minev] The trade unions are now actively participating in drafting government decisions and other legal documents, and in most cases this cooperation is confirmed by the signature of trade unions. Do such decisions fully conform with the interests of all working people, or does the syndrome of opportunism appear on this high level as well?

[Mishin] Do you think it is better for us to restrict ourselves to delayed criticism of already adopted government decisions? The trade unions have the opportunity to add remarks, corrections, and proposals, many of which are actually taken into consideration at various stages of the drafting of government documents. At the AUCCTU plenum, which discussed the nomination of trade union candidates for USSR people's deputies, Stepan Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU, was asked the following question: Is it difficult for an AUCCTU chairman to defend the positions of the trade unions against central economic organs? To this question, Stepan Alekseyevich answered quite frankly that it is very difficult. It is especially difficult when the trade unions insist that the economy should be placed at the service of man. Our proposals on extending the length of annual leave, or on the new pension law are not easily accepted. This is not because the government refuses to agree with the trade unions, but because of objective difficulties stemming from the financial situation of the state. For this reason, I would like to explain that not all compromises are prompted by opportunism. Another question is related to the requirement to better inform the working people about the proposals we are submitting to the government, about the manner in which these proposals are discussed, and on their results.

Naturally, there is another side to this close cooperation. Certain AUCCTU functionaries are beginning to think "like statesmen," and sometimes they can no longer distinguish between state functions and trade union tasks. It is also unnecessary to conceal the fact that the joint decisions adopted with the government organs sometimes deprive the trade unions of their power to act. This weakens the protective role of the working people's organization.

[Minev] Since we are discussing the protective functions of trade unions, could you perhaps provide some more details on them?

[Mishin] Everything related to the protection of human rights is our concern. This applies to the constitutional right to housing, civil freedoms, and social guarantees. The trade unions are obliged to ensure the full rights of workers, to assist them in preserving their human dignity and obtaining social justice whenever they are involved in a difficult personal situation. The AUCCTU, for example, has adopted the initiative to establish a consumers association which should protect us against the group egoism of producers of poor quality goods, and against rude behavior in the services sphere. The trade unions should achieve this goal by applying purely public methods of influence, such as glasnost.

[Minev] Reports have recently appeared in the newspapers mentioning strikes organized by certain workers collectives as a form of protest in cases where the management had violated the legitimate rights of workers. Do you think that such actions are justified?

[Mishin] From a legal point of view, strikes are considered illegal in our country today. No laws and no legal norms whatsoever exist for the settlement of such conflicts in our country. At the initiative and with the active participation of the AUCCTU, the draft of a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree was recently prepared under the title: "On the Procedure for Dealing With Collective Labor Disputes (Strikes)," which will determine the tolerable limits in using such a form of coordinated action by the working people and the procedure for settling such conflicts.

Such questions have never been dealt with in our country, so far. The general idea was that, since our state belongs to the workers and peasants, and no exploiter classes exist, to engage in a strike would mean to act against oneself.... This logic, however, can no longer be applied today. We are aware of the total extent of the workers' alienation from the results of their own labor efforts, from the processes of production management. We became aware of the fact that not only a capitalist, but also the state can have hired workers who maintain the same mental attitude. We became aware of the great scope of contradictions between individual and collective interests, between nationwide and bureaucratic interests. For this reason, strikes, in my opinion, are the result of such objective contradictions at the stage of perfecting the socialist social relations. I think that the trade unions should more actively demand a legal settlement of conflicts in the production sphere, and when, under given circumstances, the demands of the labor collectives are considered legitimate, the trade unions may even provide for a special assistance fund for workers on strike and provide other forms of support for their positions. On the other hand, there is an increase in the responsibility of trade union committees and labor collective councils in connection with their obligation to avoid extreme measures if there is no serious justification for them, and to refrain from violations of law under all circumstances, as well as to reject the provocations of extremists. This is because, in the long run, strikes are to the detriment of society and of the individual as well.

In closing this interview, I would like to say that the Soviet trade unions strongly support all positive changes which are aimed at the renewal of Soviet society, and are in favor of most widely expanding democracy and glasnost in order to establish a truly law-governed state, a real, humanitarian and just form of socialism.

Academic Deplores Frequent Misquoting of Lenin

PM1404140189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Sovokin, chief of the V.I. Lenin Works Sector of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee: "Sensations and Facts. About Articles on Lenin"]

[Text] It is not easy for the reader to find his bearings in the current flood of articles on historical topics. And he is, of course, right to demand that the new information coming to him from the pages of newspapers and journals be accurate and authentic, without fabrications or misleading distortions. And mistakes that distort the Leninist theoretical legacy or facts in the life and activity of V.I. Lenin are particularly intolerable.

However, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism [IML] under the CPSU Central Committee receives many letters citing instances where Lenin texts are quoted carelessly, Vladimir Ilich's views are distorted, and judgments are ascribed to him which run counter to Lenin's world outlook. Whereas previously a dogmatic perception of Leninist theses, their absolutization, and their interpretation out of time and place were widespread, it now seems that another extreme is becoming a widespread phenomenon—frivolous treatment of Lenin materials, and arbitrary quoting of judgments taken out of context and frequently truncated to suit the authors' concepts.

Here are a few examples where people forget the need to carefully check and recheck facts.

On 9 and 10 March this year IZVESTIYA published the article "Lessons of the New Economic Policy" by Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Sirotkin. Citing "Trotskiy's Archive" and the memoirs of B. Bazhanov, Stalin's former secretary, the author quotes a record by M.I. Glyasser and L.A. Fotiyeva, which was supposedly "dictated to them by Ilich right at the end of 1923." This piece of dictation allegedly stated: "Of course we have failed. We thought of realizing a new communist society as if by magic. But this is something that will take decades and generations. For the party not to lose heart and faith and the will to struggle, we must represent to it the return to a barter economy...as some temporary deviation. But, for ourselves, we must clearly see that the attempt has failed and that you cannot so suddenly change people's mentality or the habits of a long lifetime. You can try to drive the population into a new system by force, but whether we would hold on to power in this all-Russian meat grinder is another question."

On reading the memoirs on which V. Sirotkin relies—those of Bazhanov, who fled abroad in 1928—it turns out that there is no question in them of a record of what Lenin said. Bazhanov cites the words of Glyasser and Fotiyeva, which he recorded after asking them to talk about Lenin's "frank thoughts." "I wanted," Bazhanov writes, "to question them on what Lenin said about this in frank conversations with them...." And he goes on to cite these very words: "Lenin answered them: 'Of course we have failed....'" Thus there is no question of any "dictation." However, V. Sirotkin proposes including this text in Lenin's works, explaining: "I have no doubts as to the accuracy with which Lenin's secretaries conveyed his idea."

But he should have had doubts. Were the author, and then the editorial board, too, really not put on their guard by the assertion that Lenin dictated this text at the end of 1923, since at that time, according to N.K. Krupskaya, owing to loss of speech he was able to express his thoughts "only through mime and gestures"? All the more so because Bazhanov gives no precise date either—this is entirely on V. Sirotkin's conscience. And he had only to ponder on the substance of the text to be convinced that it could not have been Lenin's in terms of either style or content. For example, the word "meat grinder" is not encountered at all in Lenin's vocabulary. And take expressions such as "we must represent" to the party, "drive the population into a new system by force," and so forth. Lenin, so it turns out, could dissemble before the party and supposedly allowed the possibility of trying to drive the people into a new system by force...? How should we describe these assertions?

Unscrupulous critics of Lenin's April 1917 Theses tried in the past to accuse him of subjectivism, of embarking on conspiratorial positions, of trying to leapfrog over the uncompleted stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. In reply, Lenin wrote absolutely unambiguously: "It is impossible to leapfrog over the people. Only dreamers and conspirators thought that the minority could impose its will on the majority. That was what the French revolutionary Blanqui thought—and he was wrong. When the majority of the people do not want—because they do not yet understand—to take power into their hands, then the minority, however revolutionary and clever it may be, cannot impose its will on the majority of the people" (Volume 32, p 50).

In short, even a cursory analysis of the text published by IZVESTIYA shows how it contradicts Lenin's actual views on many positions of principle.

As regards recognizing the difficulties and even the mistakes made during the first years of Soviet power, Lenin in no way concealed them either from the party or from the people. You have only to take the volumes of his works containing Lenin's statements at the 8th-11th party congresses, his speeches, and his press articles.

Why, in that case, did the editorial board not consult with specialists, with the appropriate scientific research establishments, or with the custodians of the archives where V.I. Lenin's manuscripts are kept? For the publication of new Lenin documents is not a common event, and it demands both competence and responsibility.

And then there begins a chain of new errors and distortions. Taking the doctor of historical sciences at his word, in an argument with B. Sarnov in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA on 22 March this year V. Kozhinov already cites "Lenin's deathbed words" about the "all-Russian meat grinder" as an authentic fact.

To be fair, it must be pointed out that a majority of scientists and Lenin specialists voiced valid doubts about V. Sirotkin's sensational "discovery." I will refer to an article by Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Loginov (MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI No 14) and an appearance on Central Television by the playwright M. Shatrov. But it cannot be ruled out that the so-called Lenin text will still be taken on trust by some lover of "sensations."

I would like to warn such people of possible errors. There is no such text in the stocks of the Central Party Archives of the CPSU Central Committee IML.

People frequently ask: What else has not been published from the works of V.I. Lenin? I have already answered this question in the pages of PRAVDA (the article "Everlasting Lines," 11 September 1988). Documents which, for various reason, have not yet been made known to readers really are kept in the Lenin stock of the Central Party Archives and in certain state archives. Research work is being carried out to study them and prepare them for possible publication.

I wish to point out that, when preparing Lenin materials for publication, a number of them not only need to be read attentively and commented on scientifically, but sometimes need also to be deciphered. This is done by a group of the most experienced staffers of the IML and the Lenin section of the Central Party Archives, and by other specialists. Thanks to their knowledge and experience, many Lenin documents have been found, studied, and published. I recall, for example, that the 5th edition of V.I. Lenin's Works, published after the 20th CPSU Congress, contained 10 volumes of Lenin's letters (the 4th edition contained just 2 volumes). Apart from this, additional volumes to the fifth edition, four Lenin Anthologies, and the Biographic Chronicle of V.I. Lenin have been published during this time. There have also been individual articles in the periodical press. Some new documents recently saw the light of day in IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS. The IML collective is now preparing to put the 41st Lenin Anthology into production. Letters from Lenin to L.B. Kamenev, G.Ye. Zinovyev, L.D. Trotskiy, A.I. Rykov, K.B. Radek, N.N. Krestinskiy, and other major party figures repressed during the years of the personality cult will be represented in it. Other previously unpublished documents by V.I. Lenin are also being included in the anthology: his speeches and articles, draft party Central Committee resolutions written by him, plans for articles and speeches, letters, notes, telegrams, remarks, biographic materials, summaries, and so forth. The majority of them relate to the Soviet period.

They include V.I. Lenin's speech at the 10th All-Russian Party Conference, 27 May 1921, an interview with a correspondent of the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN (March-April 1920), answers to questions from delegates to the 3d All-Russian Congress of the Russian Communist Youth League, 2 October 1920, and a letter to M.I. Frumkin, deputy people's commissar for foreign trade, and B.S. Stomonyakov, trade representative of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic in Germany (12 December 1922), on the foreign trade monopoly. A number of documents are connected with problems of the international communist movement.

Of the documents from the pre-October period it is proposed to publish the draft of a speech (a surviving fragment) written by Lenin for one of the Bolshevik deputies to the Fourth State Duma with regard to a question about the state budget for 1913, V.I. Lenin's evidence relating to the charge of provocation against R.V. Malinovskiy, and other materials.

The new documents will supplement our knowledge of the life and activity of Vladimir Ilich.

Unfortunately, you frequently encounter ignorance even of what has already been published, including in the Complete Collected Works. Even well-known scientists and experienced journalists and writers frequently make annoying errors.

V. Yeremina and Ya. Tsyrulnikov, staffers of the CPSU Central Committee IML, noticed that G. Volkov's article "Ilich's Stenographer" (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 21 January this year) proposes making a "new" reading of Lenin's description of Trotskiy: "Too full [khvastayushchiy] of self-confidence." Although Lenin said: "Too lacking [khvatayushchiy] in self-confidence" (Volume 45, p 345). You will agree that these are not the same thing. And Doctor of Philosophical Sciences D.A. Volkogonov cited in MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA (10 February this year) what he said was a rare ("I do not know," the author reports, "whether it has ever been published....") document (a fragment of the agenda for a Council of People's Commissars session on 28 November 1917) attesting that "Stalin was sometimes capable of making independent decisions, which fact Lenin could not fail to assess"! It turns out that Stalin voted against Lenin's "decree on the arrest of very prominent members of the party Central Committee—enemies of the people—and their committal to trial by revolutionary tribunal." Just so: Stalin was against the arrests of members of the party Central Committee, while Lenin was in favor. Only the esteemed author omitted a "small detail"—it was a question of the arrest of leaders of the civil war against the revolution, of members of the Central Committee of the Constitutional Democratic [Cadets] Party, and the grounds for adopting the decree (see the footnote to Volume 35 of V.I. Lenin's Complete Collected Works, p 464) were "provided by the counterrevolutionary demonstration organized by the Cadets on that day (28 November 1917—A.S.) in Petrograd. The Cadets intended to carry out a counterrevolutionary coup...." The text of this decree is published on page 126 of the same volume. In addition, a facsimile of Lenin's handwritten draft and the decree itself are reproduced in the first volume of "Decrees of Soviet Power" (Moscow, 1957, pp 161-163). Incidentally, among those who signed it there is also the signature of Stalin.

The desire of both scientists and writers to get to the bottom of the complex shifts in the history of the Soviet country, to expose the origins of Stalinism, and to dig down to the roots of that phenomenon can only be welcomed. But it is impossible to agree with the methods of certain researchers who build their concepts in isolation from historical realities with the help of individual, tendentiously selected quotations.

PRAVDA has already written (31 March this year) about the publication of L. Khaindrava's notes "Some Thoughts on Contemporary 'Staliniana'" in LITERATURNAYA GRUZIYA (No 1, 1989). The author came out, so he said, in "defense of the historical truth" and against inaccuracies, mistakes, and distortions in the portrayal of Stalin. But L. Khaindrava himself essentially compounds the inaccuracies and mistakes in the description of our history. What is the worth, let us say, of his thesis that brutalities in our country began virtually at the moment of the October revolution's victory? Here the author cites the decree of 5 September 1918 and Lenin. But, like certain of his opponents writing about the red terror, L. Khaindrava "forgets" that on that day Vladimir Ilich had not yet recovered following F. Kaplan's villainous attempt on his life, and that the decree was signed not by Lenin, as the author asserts, but by D.I. Kurskiy, people's commissar for justice, and G.I. Petrovskiy, people's commissar for internal affairs. He "forgets" that the Council of People's Commissars decree was a countermeasure to a number of terrorist acts committed by counterrevolutionaries, and to the white terror unleashed against the leaders of the party and the Soviet state. It is known that terrorists killed V.V. Volodarskiy and M.S. Uritskiy, and that V.I. Lenin survived by a miracle. And the civil war situation, when the resolution was adopted, was in no way comparable with that when the Stalinist leadership unleashed mass repression against representatives of the Leninist Bolshevist guard, scientists, writers, and all dissidents.

The attempt to equate the repression of the civil war period and the period of the peaceful days of socialist building and the repression against the socialist homeland's class enemies with the repression against Communists and dissidents is in fact nothing but a justification of Stalinist repression and, on the other hand, a denial of the right and the need to defend the revolution's gains. Lenin's words to the effect that "any revolution is worth something only if it is capable of defending itself...." (Volume 37, p 122) still retain their significance today, in the time of revolutionary restructuring.

Incidentally, a second edition of the anthology "V.I. Lenin and the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission" appeared in 1987. Whoever wishes to learn about the events of 1917-1922 not by hearsay, but wishes seriously to study the documents, can find in this anthology the real picture of how Lenin and the party organized and directed under very difficult conditions the work of the Council of People's Commissars All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for the Struggle Against Counterrevolution and Sabotage.

Attempts to cite Lenin in substantiation of the Stalinist formula relating to the intensification of the class struggle as socialism advances do not stand up to criticism either. Yes, Lenin did write that the class struggle does not disappear under the dictatorship of the proletariat but merely assumes new forms, but never anywhere did he write or say anything like the Stalinist thesis used as the theoretical platform of repression.

L. Khaindrava is indignant: The term "enemy of the people" is ascribed to Stalin, but it appeared under Lenin, during the first days after the October coup. But, if we have recourse to an historical analogy, it would not be a bad thing to know that this term was certainly not invented by the Bolsheviks. It was current as early as the time of the Great French Revolution, whose bicentennial is being celebrated this year. Not that it is a question of when the term appeared, but in what connection and to whom it was applied. The Jacobins of the Great French Revolution declared enemies of the people those who "further the schemes of combined tyrants directed against the republic." Soviet power regarded as enemies of the people representatives of the landowner and capitalist classes openly opposed, along with foreigners, to the revolutionary proletariat and its allies. But in the thirties Stalin used this label against Communists, against active participants in the revolution, and in socialist building. He used it for purposes that had nothing in common with the interests of the party and the people. Nor did his practice have anything in common with the interests of any nation or any people of the Land of the Soviets—all of them and each one individually suffered innocently to a greater or lesser degree from the mass repression of the Stalin epoch. And it is totally inadmissible to shift the blame for lawlessness onto any people—small or large.

It is generally known that Stalin accounted for the need for monstrous repression by citing Lenin, essentially deceiving the masses by means of arbitrary interpretations of quotations and groundless historical analogies. Have modern authors really not abandoned this "method"? Perhaps it strikes them as easier to follow this stereotype than to learn from Lenin the ability to make a specific analysis of a specific situation.

There is hardly any need to enumerate all the strained interpretations and distortions in L. Khaindrava's article, which, incidentally, are characteristic of many other authors. You read, for example, his assertion that the October revolution "claimed a huge number of victims and...did not lead to the desired goal," and you are amazed: What is in greater abundance here—ignorance and the inability to analyze the real facts of history, or the desire to cast aspersions on the pedigree of the land of October? As though he did not know that the October 1917 uprising was precisely a most bloodless revolutionary action and was crowned with complete success. And it was not the fault of Lenin or the Bolsheviks that the civil war unleashed by counterrevolutionary forces with the support of foreign interventionists became the people's tragedy and exhausted the country. And it was not the system founded by Lenin and, according to L. Khaindrava's assertion, "raised to its apogee by Stalin and brought to its present state by Khrushchev and Brezhnev" but precisely the deformation of the Leninist principles of socialism and of its humanist, democratic ideals that was the cause of many difficulties and misfortunes on the way to the goal proclaimed by October.

It can happen that, drawing individual pieces of information from certain sources and corroborating them with what seems to him a suitable quote, a certain author makes speculative assessments of events and politicians without a moment's hesitation, and peremptorily judges the time, the people, the party. I wish to remind him that V.I. Lenin demanded that all facts be taken into account without a single exception when studying a problem. He himself learned throughout his life from lessons of history and the experience of great movements. Vladimir Ilich urged his comrades to study the specific material of history in the interests of the present and the future and, before acting, to analyze the history lessons of the past. That appeal still retains its significance and force nowadays for everyone who addresses a difficult historical topic.

Academician Urges Close Examination of Past

LD1704133889 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian
3 Mar 89 p 4

[Article by Vytautas Matuolis, senior co-worker at the Institute of Physics, Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Academy of Sciences, entitled "There Is Another Side to It" under the rubric: "Hear My Opinion."]

[Text] I have been a Leninist Communist Youth Leaque [Komsomol] member (since 1949) and also, have been an officer in the USSR Armed Forces; I have held party membership for 27 years.

Nowadays, everyone, including Communists, has some food for thought. Reading newspapers and journals, listening to the radio, or watching television is interesting, but it appears that these do not suffice in orienting oneself to the complicated social phenomena. Adequate sources of information are too few, thus leading us to a re-examination of Lenin's works. A great deal of personal life's experience is also needed. All that constitutes intensive work: One must evaluate "mountains" of information, get in touch with history, as well as, with the present, and attempt to make a prognosis; only then one may discover where to find a glimpse of truth.

Twentieth century tragedies are considered as follows. Mankind was first introduced to fascism crimes. We learned (those of us who did not experience this on their own necks) who these Hitlerites and all those who assisted them, were. Thus, the film, "Simple Fascism," by M. Romas, "Blood and Ashes," by J. Marcinkevicius, "Forest of the Gods," by B. Sruoga and many other literary, movie, theater, and monument art masterpieces (monuments), came into existence, which eternalized Soviet soldiers, partisans, Komsomol members, Communists, and finally, average individuals. This noble endeavor is being continued further.

Unmerciful time is attempting to flip the coin of history on its other side. Slowly, the face of Stalinism and its idealogues is becoming clearer to us. For a long time it had been carefully hidden from us. The fact that it was masked by slogans, numbers, other political decorations, and clever devices, becoming engraved by deceit and violence in the consciousness of many is indisputable.

A brave examination and evaluation of the other side of the coin does not constitute bias but is rather a compensation for the earlier lack of information. This must be accomplished quickly, while witnesses are still living, while someone's soiled hand has not yet destroyed documents, or smoothed over the secret mass murder sites. Finally, in taking stock of nationalities' wounds, it is vital to responsibly investigate causes of these painful events, because the bare facts often may either deceive or oversimplify the objective meaning of events.

Yes, Hitlerites were murderers who carried out their tasks mercilessly. It is important to determine, however, who led the people to the scaffold, where the executioners were awaiting them, what historic events were not symptoms or destiny, but rather objective causes of events. We must now, first of all, make a thorough examination of events in Europe, and especially, of those in Lithuania.

The events of 1939-41 were especially tragic for our nation, because they initiated the start of countless human sacrifices. To begin with, Red Army bases in Lithuania were military objectives, which were mercilessly destroyed at the onset of war. Many Red Army soldiers were killed and, along with them, many innocent residents of Lithuanian cities and other residential localities.

The Red Army, in retreat, had dispersed throughout fields and forests, offering resistance and killing more than one Hitlerite. The local peaceful population had to pay for the death of the latter, because the death of one German soldier brought on the shooting of 10 Lithuanian men. I witnessed such events.

There followed the postwar years: forced collectivization and once more, deportations, and acts of fratricide.

One must not blame party veterans or the party itself for all negative phenomena.

The demand for the unveiling of Stalinism crimes against the Lithuanian population and humanness, disclosure to the public of idealogues, organizers, and direct perpetrators of those crimes, and also deprivation of their social privileges, is another matter. Let us read about the Rainiai tragedy (SOVETSKAYA LITVA no 243, 1988, or GIMTASIS KRASTAS no 42, 1988), murders along the Nevezys (TIESA no 250, 1988). Read about the Kuropatai tragedy in Belorussia (MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI no 41, 1988). It is understandable that the killings of people here, as well as in other areas, are attributed so far to the general accounting pot of Hitlerism victims.

Obviously, the other side of the coin is not totally revealed yet. We will have to continue describing it "one-sidedly," until such a time as when Stalinism will at long last be relegated to a place alongside the already "one-sidedly" appraised fascism.

We hear that the party itself unmasked the personality cult and had suffered much because of it. Yes, the party did suffer, however, simple people suffered more. The party did, in fact, acknowledge its mistakes. But it was impossible, after all, to ignore them. With the existence of modern international communications, nothing can remain hidden. In the final analysis, the communist party should not be envisioned as some sort of supernatural infallible power. If we each do our part—and having overcome the sense of fear, begin to think for ourselves, and to think along non-standard lines—we will stop deceiving ourselves and the party will have authority.

In closing, I can not fail to mention the conference of Komsomol veterans held in Alytai in October of last year to which I was also invited.

A nice program was presented: Members of postwar years met with the young people and discussed postwar difficulties and traumas. I felt rather sad, however. It became apparent that many Komsomol veterans regard the ongoing social rebirth processes and the activities of our young people very superficially and skeptically. It is understandable: Beliefs are like roots in the soil and chronic diseases. It is difficult to alter their course or to cure oneself of them. Is it not a frightening thought, though, that the new generation will no longer understand these veterans who saw and endured so much? Perhaps, it is even worse. Namely, the desire to continue admiring only the one side of the coin, to appraise it with bias, and to fear that some brave schoolboy might suddenly flip it over on its other side revealing trees bearing forbidden fruit.

New Collection of Khrushchev Material Published

18300531b Moscow TRUD in Russian
12 Apr 89 p 3

[Text] "Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev. Materials for a Biography"—this is the title of the collection published by the Publishing House of Political Literature. It includes materials published recently in the Soviet press—memoirs, analytical articles, personal impressions of Khrushchev, and episodes from his biography. The authors include historians, economists, and figures in literature and art: F. Burlatskiy, A. Bovin, K. Simonov, R. Medvedev, S. Kondrashov, D. Valovoy, V. Grossman, D. Granin, and many others. The materials pertain mainly to the 10 years when N. S. Khrushchev was the leader of the party and the country. All of them taken together create a portrait of Khrushchev—a unique personality who was contradictory but who left his mark on people's memories. The collection was compiled by candidate of historical sciences Yu. Aksyutin.

Weekly Cites Interview on Solzhenitsyn

LD0604123189 Moscow World Service in English
1100 GMT 6 Apr 89

[Text] The Moscow-published weekly SOBESEDNIK runs an interview with a former wife of the author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Natalya Reshetovskaya. She is the author of a book about Solzhenitsyn published in

Moscow in the mid-seventies and circulated in many countries. In her interview Natalya Reshetovskaya quotes many documents previously unknown to the public and reflecting the complicated struggle for the publication of Solzhenitsyn's works at home. At present his novel "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich," published by the NOVYY MIR magazine in 1962, is returning to Soviet readers.

There have been public ceremonies in Moscow to mark the 70th birthday of the author, who now lives in the United States.

Intensified Approach to Ecological Threats Urged

18300504 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 13, 1-7 Apr 89 pp 1-2

[Interview with F. Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Protection of Nature, by A. Slavin: "Saving Our Own Home"; date and place not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Ecological problems have now become a priority for any state. How are they being resolved in our country? Our correspondent A. Slavin interviewed F. Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Protection of Nature, on this subject.

[Slavin] Fedor Trofimovich, what is the ecological situation today in our country?

[Morgun] As before, the ecological situation remains complex. In cities and industrial centers inhabited by about 18 percent of the population—that is, more than 50 million people—the concentration of harmful substances in the air sometimes exceeds maximum permissible levels by a factor of 10 or more. The air in cities such as Zaporozhye, Ufa, Angarsk, Bratsk, Volgograd, Gorkiy, Nizhniy Tagil and others is especially polluted. The quality of the atmosphere in resorts such as Yalta, Sochi and Yurmala has started to alarm us. The situation is no better with the seas. The Baltic is polluted. In the Azov Sea the fishing catch has fallen by a factor of 10 over the past 40 years; the Azov is threatened. In the Caspian Sea the concentration of phenol alone now exceeds the permissible level several times over. The concentration of petroleum products in the Black Sea is double the standard.

Unfortunately, the situation is not improving in Baykal, Ladoga, Balkhash, Issyk-Kul, Sevan and other lakes. An average of about 20 cubic kilometers of effluent is still being poured into the lakes each year. About 40 percent of the water being monitored has pollution levels 10 times above the standards.

As the result of improper working of the soil and the unmonitored use of mineral fertilizers, pesticides, and herbicides over the past 20 years the natural fertility of the soil has declined and the content of humus in the chernozem soils has fallen. Millions of hectares of arable land have become salinated. Forests are drying out over an area of more than 600,000 hectares.

Today the most acute problem is neutralizing, utilizing and disposing of dangerous industrial waste. The main trouble is that instead of reprocessing and utilization it is being carried off to dumps in increasing quantities. As a result, not only the ground but also the ground water are being polluted. And this is having a direct effect on people's health.

[Slavin] Over the past 10 years about R70 billion have been spent for nature conservation. Have these investments produced the required effect or have they simply been "plugging the holes"? Has this spending been compared with spending abroad?

[Morgun] The sum of R70 billion is a large sum. But when we mention it we should bear in mind that it has been spent by polluting ministries mainly for purification plants. However, this is moving ahead only slowly, and efficiency is poor. For example, at the Taganrog Metallurgical Plant the construction of a circulating water-supply system has been under way since 1975 and should have been completed in 1978. However, by the end of 1988 only 57 percent of the funding allocated had been used.

With regard to comparing our spending with spending abroad, unfortunately it does not come out to our advantage. For example, whereas the United States spends about $80 billion each year to implement the national ecological program, our annual spending is limited to R10 billion. We believe that this is not enough. The more so since these funds are still mainly in the hands of "polluting" departments.

I am convinced that funding for nature conservation activity should be removed from departmental control and significantly increased. Thus, the increased federal funding in the United States for the ecological program is already producing positive effects.... The Americans have managed, for example, to make major improvements in the ecological situation in the Great Lakes. Even 10 or 15 years ago those lakes were seriously polluted. And in the FRG they have managed to suppress harmful gases ejected from metallurgical enterprises in the Ruhr. The ecological situation has significantly improved there.

[Slavin] The state committee has the right to "veto" the activity of ecologically harmful enterprises and production facilities. Has this right been invoked often in recent times?

[Morgun] It is a question of dozens of enterprises and production facilities. In principle we are not about to start "waving a club." But there are limits to our patience. A carbamide shop has been closed at the Vakhshsk Nitrogen Fertilizer Plant, a sulfuric acid and ammonia shop at the "Salavatnefteorgsintez," and part of the protein and vitamin concentrate plant in Angarsk. Production has been halted at the Saratov anthracene oil plant, and the coking battery at the Nizhne Tagil Metallurgical Combine and the electric furnace at the Verkh-Isetskiy Metallurgical Plant have been closed down. The list is quite long. In 1988 alone fines of R87 million were imposed for violations of the water legislation. More than 32,000 people were made administratively liable, and 46 had criminal charges laid against them.

[Slavin] How do you regard the problem of nuclear power stations? After Chernobyl, Italy, for example, closed all its stations. Is the state committee involved in work on designs for and the location of nuclear power stations?

[Morgun] A comprehensive ecological expert examination of designs for nuclear power stations is being conducted, and one of the main questions is providing warning of possible emergency situations.

Design work and construction of the Odessa and Minsk nuclear heat and electric power plants [ATET's] and the Krasnodar, Armyanskaya and certain other nuclear electric power stations [AES's] have been halted. Funding for the construction of a fourth unit at the Yuzhno-Ukrainskaya AES was recently cut off. It has been decided to stop making "Chernobyl-type" reactors. A design is being developed for a reactor installation with better safety, and also a reactor with built-in safety.

In 1987 new requirements were set for the location of nuclear power stations, based on the recommendations and standards of the IAEA.

In regions where AES's are located, an automatic system is being developed to monitor the radiation situation and monitor ejections and excursions of radioactive materials into the environment.

[Slavin] Many readers are worried by the question of maximum permissible concentrations of harmful substances. Are our standards in line with international standards or can departments lower or raise them?

[Morgun] As a rule the maximum permissible concentrations are defined from calculation of the mean statistical sanitation and hygiene standards. They are confirmed by the USSR Ministry of Health with the agreement of other ministries and departments. But they are not always observed. As a result, products contaminated above established norms are being sold.

There are also examples of unjustified upward amendments to maximum permissible concentrations. Thus, for example, in May of last year the USSR Ministry of Health decided to increase the permissible levels of nitrates in potatoes and tomatoes by a factor of two or three.

With regard to our standards matching international standards, in general they are fully comparable. For example, in terms of levels of pollution by exhaust gases. But it is not only a matter of standards. In my opinion the most important thing is to create a reliable economic and legal mechanism that would ensure unconditional compliance everywhere.

[Slavin] Are you satisfied with the present quality of environmental monitoring? If not, what is preventing this from being placed on a modern level?

[Morgun] First and foremost the cumbersome and ineffective system of departmental monitoring that is so burdensome for the state. These systems operate in the State Agro-Industrial Committee, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the State Committee for Forestry, the Ministry of Geology, the State Committee for Hydrometeorology, the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, and the Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production. Each of these departments is reluctant to part with its army of specialists and its inventory of technical facilities. The committee has drawn up recommendations to develop in the country a unified monitoring information system. The ball is now in the USSR Council of Ministers' court.

[Slavin] And what kind of technical facilities do the monitoring services have?

[Morgun] We have virtually no nature conservation industry. In the State Committee for Protection of Nature, for example, only one experimental factory is operating, employing about 120 people. In the United States about 1 million people are working in this industry. And it has become clear that this is not excessive. Steps are being taken to rectify the situation here, too.

[Slavin] Fedor Trofimovich, many ecological organizations, societies, foundations, and associations have recently been formed. Nature conservation societies also exist. How do you see the role of these organizations? In what ways can joint actions be coordinated if, of course, this is envisaged?

[Morgun] We are ready to provide consulting and methodological assistance to any ecological group and to cooperate in the field of propagandizing ecological knowledge. We already have experience in these kinds of contacts, particularly with the Peace Committee. We also maintain close links with the trade unions, which are being called upon in the most decisive way to improve people's work conditions. Of course, the system for cooperation has not been completely organized but the first steps have been taken. A public council has been set up in the committee; it includes eminent scientists and cultural figures, representatives of the youth ecological movements, and managers in industry and agriculture.

Last, the public organizations and associations have a real opportunity to influence decisionmaking in the field of nature conservation through their own people's deputies. For most of them ecological issues have been a very important plank in their election platforms. The democratization of our society is linked directly with finding solutions to ecological problems.

TV Program Criticizes Land Improvement Ministry

'Tremendous Impact'

PM1404142689 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 15, 9 Apr 89 p 15

[Ecology and the World Association chairman Sergey Zalygin commentary: "I've Seen This Programme"]

[Text] Frankly, I've never seen anything like this on TV. A tremendous impact. Soviet leading scientists speak convincingly and with emotion, using hard facts and arguments to prove beyond a shadow of a doubt how harmful the current uncontrolled activity of the Ministry of Land Improvement and Water Conservation is for the country's nature, economy, culture and morals. And this activity is completely out of control. While the ministry has for years been draining our already scarce funds the results are such that perhaps it will take several generations to repair the damage. Who is going to answer for it?

It may sound like a paradox but the programme is not against land improvement. It is very much for it. But for a rational kind of land improvement based on the real needs of the farmer, and precise and balanced scientific assessments rather than on the parochial interests of one single government agency. This is an alternative course. A beneficial one. But who would it benefit?

According to the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the programme says that nearly one half of the 130,000 million roubles spent on land improvement in recent twenty years has been pilfered. It is only logical to wonder therefore why Uzbekistan, having drained the Aral Sea of its water, can't control its appetite and why is it asking for more and more billions of roubles for irrigation?

It would have been naive to expect a different reaction to the programme from the ministry. As for the habit of "banning and holding up", it has vast experience. It is through the ministry's interference that such documentaries as "The Land In Trouble", "the Vortex" among many others still lie on the shelf

Three or four years ago, the ministry censored all press information about its activities, even in Pravda. As we can see, it is not going to give up this function so dear to its heart.

Ministry officials claim that the press turns down their material. Which newspapers, which material? The ministry is silent on this. Why?

And another question. The ministry is among the "costliest" in the country's budget. Its piece of the pie is twice as big as that of the Ministry of Public Health, for example, or 50 roubles a year per head of the population. The ministry spends billions to no effect or even to harm nature and the national economy while these funds could be used to increase pensions for the old by fifty or one hundred per cent, to build nearly twice as many daycare centres. But....

What lies behind this "but", making all criticism of the ministry in almost all major dailies more than useless? More than that, why does it enjoy the right of censorship as can be seen from the above?

Broadcast of Film Stopped

PM1404142489 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 15, 9 Apr 89 p 15

[Andrey Borodenkov report: "Is Criticizing the Ministry No Use?"]

[Text] "MN" has already reported that a TV programme hitting out at the USSR Ministry of Land Improvement and Water Conservation had been cancelled under pressure from the ministry officials.

We have also carried a letter by those who appear in the banned programme: Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences Aleksey Yablokov, Academician Aleksandr Yanshin and Member of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences Vladimir Tikhonov who severely criticized the agency's strategies that destroy nature. They also write to say that the ministry rejected an offer from the makers of the TV programme to tape another one where alternative views could be read.

Soon after this letter was published MN got a letter from the First Deputy Minister P. Polad-Zade. His point was: he had never received any invitation from the TV Centre to take part in any discussion. As for banning TV programmes, his ministry has never had such a right especially now that glasnost has triumphed.

In short: the scientists over-reacted while MN didn't bother to check up on what their letter said and so became directly involved in the libel.

The charge is serious. But before we apologize to the ministry, let's once again retrace the events.

I have a letter signed by former First Vice-Chairman of the USSR Gosteleradio (he is now the general director of TASS) Leonid Kravchenko. "Dear Polad Adzhiyevich, the Central Television agrees to produce another programme to discuss the same issue and suggests that you take part in it."

This constitutes an official invitation. Let me explain the meaning of "another programme". A year ago one of Central Television Searchlights on Perestroyka looked at some of the glaring outrages committed by the Ministry of Land Improvement and Water Conservation. The selfsame Polad-Zade lashed out charging the authors of the programme with incompetence and the deliberate twisting of facts.

To uphold justice, the TV people turned to leading ecologists for support. The ecologists backed them up, and they concluded that a round-table debate should be arranged between advocates and opponents of the current land imporovement strategies.

Leonid Kravchenko:

"At first Polad-Zade agreed and even selected his team to take part in the debate. But when he learned the names of his opponents, he refused the offer point-blank. For me this was a sure sign that the land improvement officials were scared of open debate, because they had no arguments. So I gave instructions to arrange a round table without them."

"The programme was ready by early February and approved by the board of editors of the Central TV Main Department of Propaganda and it was to go on the air March 2. Soon some strange goings-on started up around it."

Journalist Lyudmila Yashina chairing the round table:

"Two weeks or so before the programme was to be aired, the Editor-in-Chief of the Main Department of Propaganda, Fedor Bruyev, called me into his office and said that the tape should be screened at the CPSU Central Committee. I took the cassette there February 24 and was told that the screening had been arranged for officials of the ministry and the USSR Agro-Industrial Committee (Gosagroprom) so as to have their reactions. The screening took place the next day at Gosagroprom. The only other people allowed to be present were myself and Bruyev. Those who had taken part in the round-table discussion—Yanshin, Yablokov and others—were not admitted. All in all, nearly seventy people were there. Besides the apparatchiks of the ministry and Gosagroprom there were several heads of collective and state farms from the Crimea and Smolensk regions and officials from the Volgograd Regional Party Committee. Among scientists was Academician Shumakov of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, the notorious advocate of the diversion of northern rivers to the south. The tape ran to the end and the lights went on. Then came pandemonium. It couldn't be called a discussion. There were boos, shouts and abuses: "This is a pack of lies!", "You are playing into the hands of imperialists!", "We demand an inquiry!"

Fedor Bruyev:

"I thought their arguments were convincing and I gave instructions to cancel the broadcast as being biased."

Perhaps this is all that happened. But questions remain. Why were only those whom the programme criticized invited to pass judgement on it? And then who thought it necessary to have the opinions of scientists censored by ministerial officials?

Fedor Bruyev has accepted responsibility. He says he just wanted a consultation. But wasn't the programme already finshed and approved for airing? Why this belated reaction? Some ulterior motives?

"Yes," agrees Bruyev, "I had my doubts. Too late? Not at all. A programme can be withdrawn any time. Such things happen here on TV."

We know of such things unfortunately, just as we know what leads doubtful officials to make such decisions.

This is what German Gibov, spokesman for the CPSU Central Committee, and the man who arranged the screening at Gosaroprom, thinks about the round table:

"It was rather one-sided and biased. I said as much, but we never imposed a ban on the programme."

There was no official ban of course, but does an experienced bureaucrat need a ban to understand that the Ministry of Land improvement and Water Conservation is better not to be criticized?

Belorussian Official Interviewed on Chernobyl

18000797a Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 26 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by A. Kryzhanovskiy, BELTA correspondent, under the rubric "Special Attention Area": "A Safety Formula"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia and the Council of Ministers of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] approved a decree "On the Development of a Republic Comprehensive Program for the Years 1990-1995 to Eliminate the Aftereffects of the Accident at the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station [AES] on the Territory of the Republic."

A decision was made to create its project in a 2-month period. What is the meaning behind this decree? A BELTA correspodent conducted an interview on this subject with V.G. Yevtukh, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers and the chairman of the commission of the bureau of the Central Committee of the Belorussian Communist Party [KPB] and the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers on the elimination of the aftereffects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES.

[Kryzhanovskiy] Vladimir Gavrilovich, the program, about which there were so many arguments, was absent for 3 years. Now it has to appear in 2 months....

[Yevtukh] There is no haste here—the period is quite realistic. But you have not put your question entirely accurately. The plans for treating the "sick" land, for organizing public services and amenities in populated areas and supplying them with "clean" food products, were adopted for each post-accident year. During this time, 412 villages have been decontaminated and more than 400 facilities were built for social and cultural purposes. Expenditures on the elimination of the aftereffects of the accident, counting losses associated with the reduction in the volume of production, amounted to 1 billion 835 million rubles. Hundreds of kilometers of roads with hard surfaces, electric power lines, water lines, and sewer lines were laid, and dozens of artesian wells were bored. Intensive tillage, chalking and application of increased doses of mineral fertilizers, and grass seeding and reseeding of soil was accomplished on hundreds of thousands of hectares. In addition, there was a continuous check on the radioactive situation on the republic's territory, and concepts were developed for safe living in regions suffering from radiation.

I will mention that one criterion formed the basis of this concept, which provides for a return to a normal way of life, the removal of all restrictions on living conditions, and the use of local products: 35 rem is the maximum radiation dose that a healthy person can receive during his entire life without risk. The point is that people should, where this is possible, live on affected territories just as on conventional land. But I emphasize that to approach the creation of a long-term purposeful and comprehensive program in real earnest, almost 3 years of work experience and research was necessary. Today we are encountering the kinds of problems that did not exist before, and we have to unite the forces of many ministries, departments, and organizations to resolve them. According to preliminary calculations, we have to acquire not less than 2 million rubles.

[Kryzhanovskiy] I would still like to clarify whether or not this relatively short period that is earmarked for the creation of the program's project is tied to the fact that there will be an additional resettlement of people? It is known that the State Agricultural Committee [Gosagroprom] was unable to get an absolutely "clean" product and that the Belorussian Consumer's Union [Belopotrebsoyuz] was not able to organize normal supplies and to assure safe food rations. Has time not been lost?

[Yevtukh] No. The authors of the concept, prominent medical radiologists of the country, are convinced that the maximum dosage of 35 rem will not be exceeded up to January 1990, even in those populated areas whose resettlement does not give rise to doubts. We have about 2 years during which we can calmly, without a fuss, resettle people into a safe place.

However, I see in the urgency you give to the questions concerning lost time, and the relatively short period earmarked for the creation of a program, a desire to obtain a certain satisfaction for the entire journalistic fraternity that has raised questions in the press on the creation of the program. As they say, we wrote, but they did not hear us.

[Kryzhanovskiy] That is partly so, especially because for 3 years we knew practically nothing about the activity of the commission, and not one report from any of its meetings appeared in the press.

[Yevtukh] As I have already said, we were not idle. It is another matter that the work of the commission was given little treatment in the press. This was not entirely correct. An information vacuum is no more desirable than rumors and conjectures that spread panic. Frequently, their "authors" were your colleagues as well. I will say frankly, we have nothing to hide. The decree on the development of a program envisages the establishment of a special group, and assigning it the responsibility for informing the population on radiation questions in a reliable and timely way.

[Kryzhanovskiy] The press has published maps of radioactive contamination and has named levels of radiation which were only yesterday considered secret. Glasnost also sheds the radiation shackles. And although the program project has yet to be developed and it is not our custom to say "jump" until you jump over, I would like to know beforehand what directions the creation of the project will take. "Interested persons" who live on the afflicted territories could make their suggestions. Not one little detail or one omission escapes their fixed attention today.

[Yevtukh] To achieve efficiency of development and control over the implementation of all measures associated with the practical realization of the new concept, a section will be set up in the Belorussian SSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan] on questions of eliminating the aftereffects of the accident, and a new position of deputy administrator of Council of Ministers Affairs will appear in the Council of Ministers, and a special subdivision is being organized. Organizational rearrangements will be made in the Gomel and Mogilev oblast soviet executive committees [oblispolkoms]. The coordination of all questions of eliminating the aftereffects of the accident remain with the commission of the buro of the KPB Central Committee and the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, who are charged with intensifying inspections of the work of local party, soviet, and administrative organs, and ministries and departments of the republic.

[Kryzhanovskiy] As I understand it, this is an introduction.

[Yevtukhov] But an essential one. Because the reorganized organs will be involved exclusively in problems of eliminating the aftereffects of the accident and will watch over the progress of program execution.

All ministries, departments and institutions of the republic that have a bearing on a given problem are instructed to submit their proposals to the commission in May.

Paramount attention will be given to questions concerning the recovery of mothers with children up to 6 years of age, pupils up to 14 years of age, and adolescents and adults living in controlled radioactively contaminated zones.

We will have to check and coordinate once more with local soviets of people's deputies and corresponding union organs on the number of populated areas that have been identified for immediate resettlement. We will have to indicate places for the construction of settlements in clean zones and to provide for their normal social and living conditions.

We will have to improve already known technologies and develop new methods of conducting agriculture, ensuring the acquisition of "clean" products.

[Kryzhanovskiy] It would be good also to study the economic advisability or production activity in territories contaminated with radionuclides, to develop sufficiently effective methods for processing contaminated raw materials and utilizing radioactive wastes, and to solve the problem of individual dosage measurement instruments.

[Yevtukh] Of course, this will also be taken into account. A determination has already been made on farmland areas according to type and level of contamination by radionuclides. Proposals are being implemented on the transformation of those of them on which it will not be possible to get "clean" production, even after the introduction of special land reclamation operations, into game refuges and preserves.

We are also expecting recommendations from scientists on new progressive methods for conducting decontamination operations, and the preservation and creation of protective zones around populated areas that will guarantee safe living conditions.

One must think carefully about how to lower the use of toxic chemicals in agriculture and to replace them with biological methods of protecting plants. Additional research will be conducted on radioactive contamination in each oblast, and a more precise ecological, genetic, and physiological estimate will be made of the possible aftereffects, taking into account the specific features of each republic, improved methods of diagnostics, prophylactics, and treatment of illnesses that are caused by radioactivity factors. Medical establishments will provide full support with personnel and effective equipment and medicines.

In addition, as workers of the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Health [Minzdrav] and the Belorussian SSR Mininistry of Education believe, it will be necessary, on the basis of intensive and extensive examination of the health of children, to reorganize the popular education process, redesign a number of educational facilities, create year-long medical-type Pioneer camps, and increase the number of country cottages for children.

[Kryzhanovskiy] And as fast as possible to resolve the problem of immunity deficiency from which children suffer most of all. In the final analysis, to arrange for an uninterrupted supply of "clean" food products to the stricken areas—first and foremost fruits and vegetables and children's nourishment. To supply these areas with the necessary quantity of special automotive transport, refrigerators, and isometric equipment.

[Yevtukh] In areas with an unfavorable radiological situation, we also plan to establish a wide network of retail trade enterprises to which products will be delivered in small packages.

Material and financial benefits will be adjusted in the program for the population of zones that are under permanent and periodic inspection.

[Kryzhanovskiy] If everything about which we have been talking, Vladimir Gavrilovich, will be included in the program and implemented, it seems to me then that the formula for safe living on territories contaminated with radionuclides will take on its true picture for the first time in 3 years. But are there enough forces in the republic to conduct what is planned, even with the help of the new program to solve the equation of the possible consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe?

[Yevtukh] We have already been allocated an additional 100 million rubles from union funds. There can be only one solution to the equation: maximum safety for the health of the people.

The decree of the KPB Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the republic envisages that not only republic ministries and departments will take part in the development of the republic's comprehensive program for the years 1990-1995 to eliminate the aftereffects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, but also oblast, rayon and settlement soviets of people's deputies. Therefore, those who desire to submit their proposals for the program can send them to local authority organs.

Interior Ministry Expert Criticizes Nuclear Power

AU1404155089 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 14 Apr 89 p 51

[Article by Boris A. Kurkin, jurist and lecturer at the Academy of the USSR Interior Ministry: "The Globe Is Being Mined; A Soviet Plea Against Nuclear Power"]

[Text] Moscow—To give us an idea of what we are doing when we "fully support" the development of our country's nuclear energy program, I would like to broach a vital question—that of nuclear waste. There is no other energy source which, after having been used, leaves waste behind that is quite so dangerous as the fission products of nuclear energy (plutonium, cesium, strontium, etc.). They cannot be destroyed, but only kept "for all time" in special stores.

We have been extremely fast in building nuclear power plants without considering the final product of the nuclear burning cycle. The chemical treatment of used nuclear fuel lags far behind the industrial and technological development of the other stages of the burning cycle. Dumps of radioactive waste are growing disastrously because secure final storage has not yet been developed.

There is a persistent silence on this vital question in the context of nuclear energy, namely the "interment" of highly reactive waste "for all time." Not a single expert is able to say how highly reactive waste can be stored in a way that is able to prevent radiation, which will last several millenia, from posing any danger to our lives. It is also unclear how the huge amounts of material with weak and medium-level radiation that occur in the production and use of nuclear fuels can be managed.

The final storage of radioactive slag is the most difficult task of nuclear technology. Containers in which the radiating remains can be "buried" may be destroyed in the course of time (however, this may be seen in terms of geological dimensions.) Moreover, radioactivity can escape everywhere.

In the context of the Chernobyl catastrophe, Soviet medical experts, particularly L. Il'in, vice president of the Academy of Medical Sciences, are inclined to affirm that, after all, nothing terrible has happened. "It is already clear that the real radiation doses were smaller than expected by the factor 10."

One of the dangerous features of nuclear power plants lies in the fact that their lifespan is relatively short and that they cause many problems once they have "died." Dismantling a nuclear power plant is a difficult scientific problem; no reliable concept has been worked out for this purpose so far. All approaches to the solution of this problem show severe shortcomings. Some calculate that the complete dismantling of a nuclear power plant will take 50 years, others speak of 100 years. Recently, scientists detected radioactive components, including Nickel-59 and Niobium-94, in the construction scaffolding of an old reactor. The half life of these substances is 75,000 and 20,000 years respectively.

The conclusion is that the development of nuclear energy is tantamount to mining our own globe with nuclear bullets with incorporated timers, which will cost us dear. The timers will go off—even if the exact time is still uncertain. Do we really have to continue on a path that is verging on suicide for the benefit of those authorities that are interested in nuclear energy?

No Reported Shortages With Closure of AES

NC1504080789 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 15 Apr 89

[From the review of KHORHURTAYIN AYASTAN]

[Text] When the first and then the second energy units of the nuclear power plant closed, the people clearly did not feel that there was any shortage of electricity in their homes. Under the heading of "If There Is No [word indistinct] Shortage," Balayan writes about saving electrical energy.

Conferences Discuss Nuclear Safety, Restoring Names

LD1704115589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Summary] "Two very important conferences began in our capital today. The participants in one of them are to establish a Nuclear Society of the USSR. It is a voluntary organization, linking the interests of scientists and specialists engaged in the design and exploitation of nuclear stations. Ensuring the safety of nuclear power plants and protecting the environment are the main tasks of the new society."

The second conference is devoted to restoring the ancient names of towns and streets. It has been organized by the Soviet Culture Fund and the USSR Academy of Science and is being attended by about 300 delegates from all over the country.

Army Paper, Readers on State Crimes Decree

PM1304141689

[Editorial Report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian on 13 April in its First Edition publishes on page one a 1,800-word feature titled "Democracy and Responsibility," comprising a roundup of readers' letters on the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree on state crimes, prefaced by an editorial commentary. The text of the editorial commentary is as follows:

"A USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree 'On Amendments and Additions to the USSR Law "On Criminal Responsibility for State Crimes" and Certain Other USSR Legislative Acts' has been published.

"It must be said that we were tired of waiting for this legal document. The writers of letters to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA have stated frankly that in recent times the protection of the constitutional foundations of the state has been exercised inadequately and law enforcement organs have eased up in the struggle against violations of law and order and manifestations of open anti-Sovietism and incitement to ethnic discord. And that undermines the current restructuring in the country and the establishment of glasnost and democracy. Many such letters from readers have already been published in the newspaper, and we publish some more today. Despite the fact that some were written before the adoption of the decree, the letters express approval for a new legislative act aimed at protecting socialism and restructuring from encroachments by various kinds of unscrupulous political extremists.

"We often, and rightly, repeat nowadays: Democracy must be learned. But perhaps we forget that democracy is not only the expansion of real rights, but also the stepping up of responsibility, discipline, and order. We must not only learn how to conduct debates and uphold our view within the framework of socialist pluralism, but also learn to answer for our own words and actions and comply with our duties to society and the law.

"It is no secret that frenzied opponents of restructuring have begun more and more frequently to exploit the slogans of democracy, glasnost, and the expansion of human rights and freedoms. Suffice it to recall the events in Armenia and Azerbaijan, which entailed casualties and caused moral and material damage to the country that is hard to repay, as well as nationalist actions in the Baltic republics, Moldavia, and other regions. Today there are new casualties on the consciences of these self-styled leaders—the lives of 16 people who were crushed to death by a crowd whipped up by anti-Soviet fervor in the square in Tbilisi.

"'How long will we go on tolerating anarchy and permissiveness such that insults against the party and Soviet power spring from the protesters' posters and from the lips of ignorant overgrown thugs?' reader A. Verchukov from Tallinn asks. 'You do not want to go out in the street when you know that people look on you as an occupier.... Yet I was wounded twice on this land in the war years, I nearly lost my life....'

"One can understand the feelings of the veteran, and of many other Soviet citizens, Army and Navy servicemen, who are called insulting names by diverse 'informal' groups in some of our cities that call for ethnic dissension.

"A rule-of-law state, which our party aims to create, presupposes protection both of each individual citizen and of society as a whole against unlawful acts. The new legislative act adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is another step along the path to such a state, the path to the further establishment of democracy and glasnost. But this means the kind of glasnost and the kind of democracy that have a beneficial effect on society's all-around development and the consolidation of its forces, and that uncover the potential of socialist people's power."

The commentary is followed by extracts from three readers' letters deploring nationalism and calling for a "law to stop public calls for ethnic discord," plus reports from Lieutenant Colonel M. Ziyeminsh in Riga and Lieutenant Colonel O. Falichev in Baku citing interviews with members of the public expressing approval of the new decree. A Riga citizen describes it as "timely and necessary," while a Baku labor veteran observes that "where there is a lack of political consciousness and social responsibility, the law should operate alongside explanatory and educational work."

New Uses Found for Former Jamming Transmitters

LD0804113189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 8 Apr 89

[From the "Soyuz" program]

[Summary] As is known, at the end of last year our country stopped jamming Radio Liberty, Deutsche Welle, and Voice of Israel. The jamming of other Western radio broadcasts, for example Voice of America and the BBC, stopped even earlier. This is another confirmation of glasnost. But what are the former jamming radio transmitters to be used for? Andrey Veduto comments.

[Veduto] In Moscow these transmitters are being used to transmit radio programs from all the union republics. Programs from the Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldavia, and the Baltic republics went on the air beginning 14 March on shortwave on 31 and 49m. Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia joined in starting 21 March, and a week later they were joined by Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics.

A Ukrainian radio official tells of the programs to be broadcast in Ukrainian today and next week. On weekends from 1015 to 1320 there is a news and musical program similar to the Mayak panorama. After 2000 there will be a concert from Kiev. There will be much Ukrainian folk music and news of the republic's sociopolitical and musical life. Listeners tuning to shortwave—6035 khz—will also hear a comedy program.

From Tuesday 11 March [as heard] broadcasts from Kazan will be relayed on short wave for Tatars living in Moscow.

Antidrugs Operation Begins in Turkmenistan

LD1704115689 Moscow TASS in English 1114 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Ashkhabad April 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yelena Prikhodko:

An operation codenamed "Poppy-89", aimed at identifying and destroying narcotic crops, began in Turkmenia, a Soviet Central Asian republic, on Monday. There are six thousand drug addicts in the republic which has a population of three million.

"Last year 162 land plots sown with narcotic plants were discovered in Turkmenia," Kiyas Tachmamedov, first deputy interior minister of Turkmenia, told TASS.

"We began to conduct anti-poppy operations three years ago. At that time we often had to overcome strong resistance of people involved in the growing of narcotic plants and the indifference of those who knew about clandestine plantations. Due to the militia's persistent work among the population, people now increasingly often voluntarily destroy crops, show illegal plantations to representatives of the authorities or report their whereabouts. As a result, the amount of narcotics in circulation diminishes. This is also promoted by amendments introduced to legislation in 1987".

"Previously the use of narcotics entailed punishment under criminal law. Now people who decide to stop using them are fearlessly applying for medical aid".

Tachmamedov's opinion is that proper cooperation between local-government, state and public bodies against drug addiction could go a lot further. The problem cannot be solved through the efforts of the Interior Ministry alone. This is why emphasis during the current anti-poppy operation is being laid on the general public and openness.

Special commissions for combatting drug addiction have been set up at every rural and district executive committee of the soviet (council) of peoples' deputies. Reports by district militia inspectors at meetings and sessions of the executive committee as well as at people's meetings in neighbourhoods are being introduced for the first time. Large-scale anti-narcotic information efforts are being organised. This year an inter-regional department for combatting the drug trade has been set up for the first time at the USSR Interior Ministry.

Economic

Official Notes Purchase of Imported Consumer Goods

18270085 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 15, 15-21 Apr 89 p 8

[S. Sarukhanov, deputy minister of trade, untitled response to reader's inquiry]

[Text]**Since our domestic industry is not covering our demand for goods there is only one solution—the purchase of imports. It is said, however, that there is no hard currency. The interview with deputy minister of trade S. Sarukhanov (ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 1) did nothing to add to the optimism. So what is the solution? [signed] S. Kravets, Kursk.**

We were informed in the USSR Ministry of Trade that in recent months decisions have been reached that undoubtedly will please consumers. Here is what S. Sarukhanov told our correspondent Ye. Kanevskiy.

Giving due consideration to the prevailing situation, additional funding has been allocated for the purchase of consumer goods abroad. Approximately R5 billion have been added to the R32.1 billion (in retail prices) previously planned. This is almost 10 percent of the total annual commodity turnover volume.

Additional purchases have been made of 15 million pairs of leather shoes, 12 million pairs of women's warm boots, 15 million knitted and sewn articles, 300 million razor blades, 150 million batteries, 30 million pairs of pantyhose, 10 million compact cassette players, more than 180,000 tons of laundry detergent and soap, 10,000 tons of toothpaste, and other goods.

These were all selected at the "Konsumekspo-89" international exhibition that took place early in the year in Moscow. These goods will be in the stores in April.

The decision to allocate additional hard currency was made in December of last year, and most of the planned contracts with companies in the FRG, France, Italy, England, Japan, Finland, Yugoslavia, Cyprus, Malta, and Turkey were signed by the end of February. Our partners were surprised, to be frank, with our atypical immediacy.

This is connected with the fact that the USSR Ministry of Trade now includes five associations of the former Ministry of Foreign Trade. The Ministry of Trade is now acting as client, purchaser, and seller.

Consistency in Economic Policy Advised

18200309 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 7 Apr 89 p 2

[Article by Igor Lavrovskiy and Leonid Skoptsov: "Nature Tolerates No Void"]

[Text] Let us try to assess the reserve potential of our economy. What are the liabilities? Consumer demand which is not met—over R70 billion annually. The state budget is R100 billion in the red. The ruble is not convertible. Direct losses of enterprises—over R10 billion a year. This is just what can be found on the surface. Underneath there are the technological gap, deficient structure of fixed assets, lack of competitiveness in the economy at all levels, alienation of labor.

What are our assets? What else can we take advantage of? Petrodollars are the first thing that comes to everyone's mind. Despite the level of world prices which is low compared to the early eighties we continue to receive about $20 billion annually from exports of oil and raw materials to the developed countries of the West. Is this a little or a lot?

We are definitely far behind such leaders in trade as the U.S., the FRG, or Japan. Our dollar-denominated exports are close to the level of Spain, Australia, or Switzerland which are notable players in the world market nonetheless. The maintenance of a positive balance (of about $3 billion) ensures the confidence of Western creditors in them. A government in possession of major dollar resources also has "a life preserver" in the event of an abrupt deterioration of the economic situation. This is why an acute crisis is hardly possible. For example, imports of foodstuffs have prevented the malnutrition of the populace for many decades in an environment of a continuing agrarian-foodstuffs crisis. In the early 1980's, almost one-third of the hard currency pumped out by oilmen was exchanged into hard foreign grain.

Machinery, equipment, and industrial semi-finished products account for more than one-half of Soviet imports. If the producer demand is reduced the hard-currency funds freed up could be earmarked for purchasing a sufficient amount of consumer goods without resorting to additional borrowed funds. After all, the efficiency of imports (the ratio of the price of a hard-currency purchase to the sales price in the domestic market) ranges between 1:5 and 1:50 for different assortments of goods. The imports to our country of the most efficient goods (household electronics, cosmetics, fashionable clothing) will relieve the pressure of the deficit within 1 or 2 years, and reduce the excess financial resources of the populace without any monetary reform.

Thus, at present imports are the most effective means of combating the hunger for goods, and the social tension to which it gives rise. Certainly, this is no foundation for a long-range policy, but the acute stress can be taken care of.

A cutback in military expenditures and a shift in the military industry to peaceful production, conversion, is the second means. However, we must acknowledge that in the next several years the defense industry will not be in a position to radically improve the situation in the consumer goods market. After all, thus far the defense enterprises have sort of existed in another economic dimension. When getting involved in civilian production, the defense enterprises will have to encounter the elements of the planned market which nobody has ever escaped "unscathed." "The defense [industry]" used to produce TV sets, radio sets, and refrigerators in much easier times as well, but we cannot say that consumers were enthusiastic about these products.

The inertia of rigid technologies and the "pyramid" principle which constitute the foundation of the production of military equipment push the direct economic effect of conversion into the future. However, the economic effect, however short-term, will become apparent right away: High-quality materials and design elements will be returned to civilian production and consumption; stocks of equipment, materials, and general-purpose machinery may be put up for sale.

Cooperation is the third stabilizing factor. Judging by the store shelves in Moscow department stores the cooperative sector is beginning to finally fill the void in the market. Thus far, the assortment is restricted, and the prices are high, but the goods are available, and in increasing quantities.

"The building factor" is capable of alleviating the pressure of deficit, and increasing the effective employment of the populace. The state, the only owner of land in the country, may allow itself with no pain to help the fellow countrymen in pursuing a solution to the foodstuffs and housing problems with their own resources. Transferring a part of land reserves to citizens to be owned or leased, and marshaling the stream of construction materials to housing construction rather than numerous "construction projects of the century" would suffice in order to accomplish it.

Let us not disregard the last chance of the administrative system—to open the door to foreign capital on considerably more favorable terms, and devalue the ruble. The consequences will not be unambiguous. One thing is beyond any doubt, however: This will entail an appreciable pick-up in the economic life of our country.

Therefore, a quite sizable economic territory remains for a retreat.

Nonetheless, we should be aware that the above "emergency" measures will produce only a temporary effect. They will not change the nature of economic development. On the other hand, this circumstance allows us to extrapolate the already apparent economic trends into the future, and to provide a forecast of development of the Soviet economy on the restructuring foundation, so to say.

The "radical economic reform" proclaimed 3 years ago did not resolve three vital issues—of property, a competitive market, and a convertible ruble. Thus far, the reform has bogged down in border fighting for the independence of enterprises, and the democratization of production activities. However, no democracy is possible without separating the state and economic powers. This is why the administrative fiat in the economy persists, and appears at present in a cocoon of economic terminology—state orders, norms, and so forth.

The economic independence of individual enterprises proclaimed by the Law on State Enterprises remains fictional in many cases. It cannot be economically realized in the absence of a developed, that is, competitive national market.

However, nature tolerates no void. If the centralized market cannot satisfy the needs a **shadow** market appears. Not only criminal operations, accounting for a minor segment of the "second" economy, constitute the shadow market. Extracting state deliveries on the principle "scratch my back, and I will scratch yours" is also a part of the shadow economy. This is where pilferers belong, as well as the trade [in hoarded sought-after goods] from "under the counter" and from the back door, and other types of semi-legal economic operations.

Economic theory predicts that, if more than 30 percent of the product generated by society ends up in the sphere of shadow distribution, the economy becomes uncontrollable. Of course, it would be interesting to learn the opinion of the State Committee for Statistics on whether we have reached this line already. However, even without it there are too many indications that we crossed this line long ago. Centralized economic fiat necessarily gives rise to economic anarchy; long years of ignoring the economic laws of property have to be paid for by the thriving of illegal and semi-legal economic relations.

What will banking on the growth of economic independence of individual enterprises bring about in an environment of, figuratively speaking, obstruction of state trade routes? The model-sample has long been worked out in the system "field—vegetable garden—vegetable storage facility—shop." Up to 40 or 60 percent of the crop grown does not reach the consumer at all. The crop is "skimmed" by the mafia of the fruit and vegetable [storage business] by diverting the best-quality products to the collective farm [kolkhoz] markets. The bulk perishes when carried by **state** vehicles and when stored and processed at **state** fruit and vegetable storage facilities, thus maintaining the situation of acute demand in the face of shortages, which is favorable for the mafia.

How is the product additionally generated by a legally independent state enterprise to be traded? It has virtually nowhere to go except to the shadow market. In an environment of a continuously reproduced excess of monetary resources, profits may be very high there as well. However, they will not be pocketed by producers alone; they will have to be shared with brokers from the realm of the shadow (once again, not necessarily criminal) economy. That is to say, the state sector will (and is already beginning!) give a powerful boost to the shadow economy.

Incidentally, many private citizens are already outraged by the high income of persons reselling goods made at state enterprises. They demand that "an end be put" to speculation.

These citizens do not yet understand that not only their outrage but also the militia and the prosecutor's office are powerless against the laws of economics. After all, the state enterprise itself becomes one of the parties with the greatest vested interest in such an exchange. "Speculator-brokers" help to put in touch the producer and the consumer within acceptable time limits and at acceptable prices. That is to say, they do the job which in developed countries the national (and at present also increasingly the international) competitive market does for society much more efficiently, and at much lower outlays.

There is no competitive market in our country, but there is a need for it. This is why a new economic system is emerging as an alternative to the old, bureaucratized one.

This appears to be a favorable development. However, it brings us no joy. It does not because, in terms of the level of organization and efficiency, the shadow economic contacts are a step backward compared even to the justly criticized centralized system of exchange and distribution.

The latter system is **nationwide**, all of its shortcomings notwithstanding. It still binds the country into a single economic entity. Now we are facing a process going in the opposite direction—a decay of the national market into a multitude of local islands.

Undoubtedly, the splitting of the national economy will reduce to zero our chances of catching up with the industrial powers of the West. (For the West, even the national boundaries have been no limit for a long time now).

However, the face of the emerging market economy looks quite unappealing from the inside as well.

On the one hand, the focusing of economic ties on local centers will bring about the growth of the average level of welfare in some places, but of the average only. On the whole, the operation of the laws of the market is always accompanied by the enhancement of stratification in terms of assets. The less opportunity national social programs have to compensate for the negative consequences of such stratification the greater the social instability of society will be, the higher the crime rate, primarily that of felonies.

At the same time, even now regions experiencing a depression are seen with what they call the naked eye. Economic isolation will turn these regions into economic disaster zones. Even without this, an environment excessively conducive to national, labor, and other social problems has been created in these regions. In turn, subsequent development of the trends which are getting stronger will lead to strings of social crises flaring up here and there. These foci of social tension will most likely remain localized but will become chronic because society will not have enough funds to cure such diseases.

Local markets are emerging within what we are accustomed to calling the unified national economy complex. This means that centripetal forces will operate along with the prevailing centrifugal forces. Who must connect individual islands in an environment of progressing economic paralysis of the center? The same knights of the shadow economy will take up this profitable endeavor. There is some experience: As early as the seventies, the elimination of lines between legal and criminal business began to take shape in the sphere of exchange and distribution, and throughout the entire union at that. If this process goes on peacefully the entire country will be split into different clans and mafias which will intertwine with the decaying centralized system, and will compensate for the underdevelopment of the legal market in this manner.

Here is one more factor which is significant for the unity of the economy—ideology. It is not much talked about in reference to economic problems, and this is not right. The inability of the centralized system to satisfy the needs of a live person combined with the simultaneous superexploitation of ideological cliches and obsolete dogmas have caused the public to lose confidence in the old interpretation of social unity. The common cause is no longer. Egoism and the desire to pursue one's interests at any cost, ignoring the legitimate interests of other people have become widespread.

Glasnost has spared us a complete triumph of this ideology of creeping mercantilism (incidentally, an economically harmful ideology: inability to see beyond the short term always brings about bankruptcy). Glasnost has allowed genuine interests of various social groups to be manifested. However, the process of deideologization will recur if the next step is not made, and new grounds for reunification do not appear. Incidentally, this process is promoted to a considerable degree by the zigzags of state policy regarding not only cooperatives but also the state sector. The inconsistency of the economic policy of the state undermines the confidence in the actions sanctioned from the top, and thus boosts the prestige of secret shadow activities.

We will not get on our feet without ideological unity on the grounds of restructuring and national economic renaissance.

Consumer Purchasing Power Creates Deficit

18000801 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Apr 89 p 6

[Article by Vladimir Petrunya: "The Secret of Cheap Money"]

[Text] Let us look truth straight in the eye: If there is one thing in our public life that is gathering speed consistently and steadily it is our deficit. This fact cannot be escaped. In the Russian Federation, for example, commodity stocks are melting away like the spring snow. Just a year ago, at the beginning of March, trade was assured commodities for 75 days of operation, and now the stocks have fallen to the 69-day mark.

This is only one of the "features" of the socio-economic aspects of the republic that the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] State Committee of Statistics [Goskomstat] presented in summing up the results of work for the January-February period of the current year. And such a by no means sweet detail, as sugar which excites everyone, was dissolved in this "feature." It was dissolved without any hope that the situation can improve. Alas, the sugar that was supplied for market stocks in the 2 months was 16 percent less than at the same time last year.

It should not be astonishing that the ration distribution of this product will not become legendary soon. Only Moscow and Sakhalin steadfastly oppose the introduction of coupons, that is, rationing the sale of sugar. It is true that consumer luck recently has been smiling less and less frequently in the capital: It would seem that sugar is on open sale, but no sales can be seen.... The "secret" here is simple: Its volume of production is being reduced.

Well, fine, but should we at least produce enough of something? We will produce—money.

Perhaps the republic and the entire country succeeded most in this respect at the beginning of the year. For the 2 months, the monetary income of the population grew by 8.4 percent in comparison with the same period last year. Moreover, the growth was moving upward—significantly more in February than in January. It is true that the expenditures of the population on the purchase of commodities and services also jumped noticeably—by 8.7 percent; but here the growth...was down. Consumer spending was much more modest in February than in January.

On the whole, a lot of money took a "stroll" in a market without commodities. The State Bank [Gosbank] issued more money than was anticipated by the cash plan. And practically all oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics found themselves under the "sway" of the above-plan emission. These "paper discharges" unto the market hit the Kuban and Primorye, the Kuzbass and Podmoskovye, and the Rostov and Kuybyshev Oblasts.

In an unbalanced economy stricken with an inflationary ailment, money, as we see clearly, is by no means a sign of comfortable circumstances. There is plenty of it—it is getting old in a money box. For the 2 months, R4.2 billion were deposited in the Russian savings bank. It now has a sum that exceeds R173 billion. But it is abnormal that it grew by 11.6 percent in 1 year, the TASS economic reviewer believes.

It is abnormal because the production of commodities that people need is proceeding abnormally. The bitter symbolic significance is that we also measure their volume in rubles that waiver and are half empty. Thus, in this measurement, the output of commodities amounted to R28 billion for the 2 months. And it turns out that commodities grew by 7 percent and money by 8.4 percent. Who will win in this race? The deficit.

Statisticians state impassively: The state order for non-food commodities has been filled (that is, if light industry is not taken into account). But how is it filled? Entirely. But in particular in exactly those in which hidden stocks are concealed. Every seventh enterprise failed to cope with the state order: These "non-fulfillers" borrowed national consumer goods amounting to R145 million.

This indebtedness made refrigerators, tape recorders, and vacuum cleaners and many other items so necessary to everyone even more inaccessible to consumers. And it was unwise when shifting to new methods of economic management many enterprises dragged a load of old habits and vices along with them. For example, crash programs. What the lack of production rhythm leads to is seen at least in the example of tape recorder output. In the first week of February, it started out with a trot and, afterwards, toward the end of the month, it went right into a gallop: Average daily production was increased by more than seven (!) times. It did not help—they failed....

But making a saucepan is not like producing a refrigerator. However, it is not a matter of complexity but of responsibility. Two-thirds of the production of enammeled steel utensils—even more—is on the shoulders of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy [Minchermet]. But the burden of responsibility apparently does not put much pressure on the branch. The saucepans are made with antediluvian equipment and therefore only the Cherepovets Metallurgical Combine was able to cope with the task. And no "ray of hope" can be seen in this matter: 100 million consumer rubles (this is the minimal sum of the deficit) will most likely remain in the "cash box," and not end up in metal kitchen utensils....

And the Ministry of Light Industry [Minlegprom] and the Ministry of Textile Industry [Mintekstilprom] put their bit into the "money box" deficit in the sum of 35-36 million each. And this was only in 2 months. Every second enterprise of the shoe industry, every third enterprise of the leather and silk industry, every fourth enterprise of the felt-making industry, and every fifth enterprise of the woolen and knitted fabric industry did not cope with contracts.

We castigate stagnation and in doing so look to the past. Meanwhile, it is quite near, today. Food product deliveries for trade for the 2 months were the same as a year ago.

But this immobility of the social index is imaginary. Its arrow, if you think about it, is pointing exactly there—to the past.

Defense Factory Converts to Consumer Production

18010551 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by V. Romanyuk: "'Molniya' Changes the Program"]

[Text] There is no sign or locator at the gates of the "Molniya" Machine Building Plant. The shroud of secrecy has not been removed yet. However, showing my press credentials turned out to be enough to be admitted to the compound of the plant. One is inclined to believe that this is the sign of the times.

For many years, the plant specialized in turning out products of a defense nature. However, the decision on conversion did not come as a surprise to the collective. The plant director N. Mironov has encouraged his designers to create "alternative products" in a variety of ways. What kind of products? Let us remind the reader that, as a defense industry ministry, the Ministry of Medium Machine Building [Minsredmash] has been assigned the task of supplying equipment to enterprises of the dairy industry. To this end, the "Molniya" was assigned to share production with two "civilian" plants, in Makhachkala and Plavsk, in Tula Oblast, which produce industrial separators.

At this point, we should say that both separator plants have fallen behind considerably during their years in the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances [Minlegpishchemash], and by now have extremely worn-out equipment. A sizable segment of their production is definitely poor-quality.

How can the situation be improved? Just as other Minsredmash plants, the "Molniya" quickly mastered the production of a group of assemblies for separators—this turned out to be no big deal. In addition, the volume of production is not that big. Both plants have cleared the mark of the 1988 program. However, it was clear that neither the quantity nor the quality of the machinery produced satisfy the consumers anymore. However, in order to help the partners to their feet you need to merge with them rather than just have them in tow. This is how the new association "'Molniya' Machine Building Plant" emerged.

Says N. Mironov: "This is an inevitable process: The output of defense products shows a declining trend. On the other hand, as soon as 1990 we have to increase separator output by 35-40 percent. Our leading specialists have been sent to Makhachkala and Plavsk. They will determine the potential and prospects for the development of both plants. In the "Molniya" compound, we will set up a facility for developing and producing trial batches of new separators. We are working on the issue of developing here the production of small batches of these devices which are popular with the working people of rural areas."

I asked the general director about conversion engendering purely human problems associated with the loss of a profession and reductions in pay. To this Nikolay Sergeyevich responded that it is easy for machine builders to switch gears, and as far as remuneration for labor, workers of a military plant did not have advantages at all. However, the similarity of operations performed is not the only point. The main point is different, it is that "the defense [industry]" has fostered and brought out in the working class the qualities so much needed at present, such as high professionalism, responsibility, good organization, and I would even say pride in the work done.

The assembly shop alone will require that 3,000 to 4,000 square meters of floor space be freed up. Technology in mechanical treatment shops is being restructured; in the future, the second shift will be reinforced. To be sure, heavy lathes and special equipment, in particular that for manufacturing parts from steel sheets by the method of uncoiling will have to purchased in order to organize the full cycle of production.

Growth prospects are also good for the collectives of branch plants and not necessarily in the production of industrial separators. These two plants produce at present over 250,000 "Plava" manual separators as goods for the populace, and the demand for them keeps growing. This gives the managers of the association some food for thought.

Says the manager of the 4th Mechanical Treatment Shop A. Popenko: "The beginnings were modest. At present, the assortment of parts is greater, about 50 types, and the series are larger. Civilian production accounts for almost one-third of the overall volume."

We meet A. Bazanov, an adjuster of machine tools with programmed control. Along with parts for the defense production he also processes separator assemblies. Requirements regarding tolerances are roughly equal, but blanks shipped from Plavsk are of a poor quality, with large allowances.

I was told that when "Molniya" workers first went to Plavsk they could not turn out half the norm on the badly tuned equipment because they were used to an entirely different quality of labor. At present, one of the tasks is exactly to extend the high standard of work of defense workers to peaceful production, to begin multiplying it. The chief engineer V. Nikolaichev with whom we came to the shop told me that he sees the main danger in transition to peaceful products exactly in reduced requirements for quality and the conduct of work. This danger is there indeed: At the "Molniya," they have long worked on "the zero flaw" principle. However, time allowances are not as rigid as those at the branch plants. If the Muscovites are to be given regular, "civilian" rates they would hardly handle the assignments, and the quality may indeed deteriorate. So, conversion is not problem-free.

Moreover, at present the association is losing money on separator production. This means that ways toward profitability have to be sought and economic accountability needs to be enhanced.

Getting rid of losses is not the whole point yet. Hard currency will be required for purchasing modern equipment. Competitive products have to be turned out in order to earn a sufficient amount of hard currency. The task is to decisively improve the standard of products and increase the length of the period of their reliable operation under warranty several times. The design department of the former Ministry of Light Industry and Food [Minlegpishcheprom] which previously was involved in separator design is being handed over to the association.

Thus, a military plant has embarked on the path of conversion. This means that sooner or later it will encounter problems characteristic of civilian industries. They are already becoming apparent, first of all, in the unsettled price-setting. The current procedure for setting separator prices in no way encourages the renewal of production lines and increasing the service life of separators. A similar Swedish separator equipped with electronic components costs dozens of times more, but has a warranty period many times that of our separator. Ours is of an obsolete design, and its warranty is 1.5 years only. The infamous "gross [production indicators]," outlay orientation, and difficulties in the material-technical supply stand in the way of the endeavor. Material deliveries were made through priority procedures when defense production was manufactured. Now the supply problems are going to arise in the scope customary for "civilians."

Let us also not forget that for the "Molniya" conversion means more than just separators. A year ago, just having learned about expected changes in the production program, the collective entered into a creative cooperative arrangement with the Kurchatov Nuclear Energy Institute. A temporary scientific-production collective was set up, and created quite rapidly an installation which has no analogs in our country. Its function is to harden parts of machines, primarily the cutting tools by the method of ion implantation. The fact that this technology does not change the geometry of the part, and thus requires no additional grinding is a particular advantage of this technology.

I was taken to the bay where the assembly of the first three installations is being completed. The assembly is performed by a team headed by the deputy chief of the new technology department N. Razgonyayev. Nikolay Ivanovich told me that the plant will be able to produce up to 20 such installations a year. Technologies for hardening various types of tools are yet to be mastered. Requests from machine tool builders and electric engineers have already come in. This is understandable because compared to the existing methods the new one provides for two to three times greater hardening of the tools: mills, drill bits, taps, turbine blades.

One more thing: It is planned to organize the production of computer networking equipment at the head plant of the association. This is a very science-intensive product; its function is to unite the computers of a plant or a territory into a network.

Conversion, a notion new to us, is gaining an increasing foothold in our economy, in our life. According to calculations, in the 13th 5-Year Plan conversion will reach 50 percent of the production capacity of the "Molniya," and taking into account branch plants—70 percent. The production and technical potential of the military plant is increasingly oriented toward turning out peaceful products.

Scientific

Space Vehicle 'Photon' To Be Launched in April

LD1704174189 Moscow TASS in English 1625 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 17 TASS—The first commercial launching of the Soviet automatic space vehicle "Photon," fitted out with French scientific equipment, has been scheduled for the end of April, a TASS correspondent was told at Glavkosmos of the USSR. This is envisaged by the agreement between the foreign economic association "Licensintorg", representing the interests of Glavkosmos, and the National Space Research Centre of France, signed last summer.

The French national centre's scientific equipment has already arrived in the Soviet Union, where it is undergoing pre-start tests with the participation of French experts. The experiments that will be carried out on board the "Photon." On French orders have the purpose of obtaining certain scientific data in the field of imponderability physics. After the flight programme is completed, the scientific equipment and accumulated information will be returned to French specialists.

At present the Soviet Union is placing Soviet space technology at the disposal of foreign organisations and firms on commercial terms. One of them is that the experiments should be carried out in conditions of microgravitation on board the "Photon" automatic space vehicles, which are, in fact, space laboratories. The "Photon" technological complex permits to stage experiments on board, linked with the production of semiconducting, optical and polymer materials, to carry out space materials studies and biotechnological research.

"Photon" space vehicles have a number of advantages over foreign analogues, it was stated at Glavkosmos. The main ones include their relatively low launching costs, comparatively long (up to one month) stay on the orbit, their reusability and big retrievable payload (up to 500 kilograms). The vehicles' structural features ensure a low level of gravitational impacts on the materials subjected to space tests and the equipment's safety during reentry and landing.

Tolstykh Holds News Conference on Restructuring

LD1704104389 Moscow TASS in English 1126 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 17 TASS—The Soviet Union has created impressive prerequisites during perestroika to make scientific and technical progress a decisive factor in tackling social and economic tasks, said Boris Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology. He spoke here today at a news conference "Scientific and Technical Progress and Perestroika" which was organised by the government's Department of Information.

Tolstykh named deep-going processes connected in this sphere with changes for the better in people's attitude to work the most important result of perestroika in science and technology. This became possible thanks to introduction of the new economic mechanism and cost-accounting relations in science and technology. Concentration of material, labour and financial resources on tackling priority tasks of scientific and technical progress also plays an important role. For this purpose the USSR has worked out 14 state scientific and technical programmes aimed at developing high-technology industries, transforming the outlook of the country's productive forces and at fulfilling a set of promising fundamental investigations. They include such fields as informatics, bioengineering, power engineering, etc.

The deputy premier also pointed to the usefulness of creating in the USSR of the so-called infrastructure of small forms in the sphere of scientific and technical progress. It includes centres for scientific and technical creative activities of the young, scientific and technical cooperatives and firms engaged in introduction of innovations in the economy. Along with state-owned establishments, these new forms of organisation of work in science and technology are making their contribution to resolving the present tasks.

At the same time Tolstykh pointed to inadequate rates of scientific and technical progress in the USSR in the past three or four years. He admitted that the country has not achieved radical changes which would be noticeable in the economy and every-day life of people. There are, for the time being, fields of science and technology which have not overcome shortocmings and low-quality production lagging behind world standards. Requirements are met inadequately in some types of machines and equipment, for instance, of the light, textile, processing and food industries.

Importance of Space Programs Highlighted

PM1704104389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Cosmonautics: Time of Renewal"]

[Text] The ceremonial meeting devoted to Cosmonautics Day which was held 12 April at the Central Academy Theater of the Soviet Army was attended by scientists, designers, Soviet cosmodrome workers, specialists from the cosmonaut training center and the mission control center, USSR pilot-cosmonauts, and representatives of the public.

Academician M.F. Reshetnev delivered a report at the meeting.

During a, in historical terms, relatively short period of time, our cosmonautics has achieved outstanding successes, he said. First and foremost among the events of the past year the speaker cited the successful flight of the "Energiya-Buran" system which took place in automatic mode from takeoff to landing. Another glorious chapter of the year was the year-long flight by Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov on the "Mir" orbital complex—the first such flight in history. Three expeditions to this station with a Bulgarian, an Afghan, and a French citizen were also carried out.

The rapid development of space technology is a powerful stimulus to the advancement of machine building, electronics, power engineering, and other sectors of industry. This is why, the speaker stressed, we now face the task of putting the achievements of cosmonautics to more effective use in the interests of the national economy. At the same time, he said, the doubts that have been expressed by the public of late as to the expediency of expenditures on space research indicate that, despite the apparent abundance of publications about space research, our country's working people are essentially inadequately informed about its results, about what space technology is producing for the country's national economy today, and what it may produce tomorrow.

In this context the scientist cited interesting but little known facts which testify to the effectiveness of the utilization of various space achievements. Communications satellites are the undisputed leader in this respect, he said.

Telephone, telegraph, and facsimile communications, radio and television broadcasting, transmission of diverse information and other material, exchange of information in large automated control systems and computer networks, the transmission of matrices for newspaper publication—this is by no means the full list of tasks carried out in our time by satellite communication technology. The Moskva and Ekran system have made it possible to extend television broadcasting to 93 percent of the population. According to USSR Ministry of Communications information, the economic gain derived from the operation of the Orbita, Moskva, and Ekran systems totaled R540 million last year.

The operational Tsikada system makes it possible for an unlimited number of ships to ascertain their location with an accuracy down to 100 meters with the help of satellites of the "Cosmos-1000" type. This substantially enhances the efficiency of the utilization of the Soviet merchant fleet. Now more than 3,000 of our ships are fitted with this equipment.

The COSPAS system, which is based on the Tsikada satellites fitted with additional special apparatus for the detection of ships and aircraft in distress and the accurate determination of their coordinates, has been created. Together with the U.S.-French-Canadian SARSAT [Search and Rescue Satellite-Aided Tracking] system it forms a coordinated unified search and rescue service which has already saved more than 1,700 lives.

Long-term and reliable weather forecasting is of tremendous importance for the national economy. Since 1967 the Meteor meteorological system has been in service in our country. Its satellites are fitted with television and infrared equipment which makes possible the study of the atmosphere and earth and ocean surfaces. Meteorological forecasts enable us to substantially reduce potential damage to the national economy from natural disasters. This is helping to save between R500-700 million annually right now.

Space-based natural science has achieved great successes in the sphere of the exploration and development of natural resources. Satellite information is now being supplied to more than 900 organizations under the jurisdiction of various ministries and departments. The comprehensive exploration of natural resources from space is highly effective and brings in R350 million a year. The study of the natural resource potential of the earth from space, the speaker said, is closely tied up with the interests of each and everyone and provides a good opportunity for international cooperation. This is why the world public received with interest M.S. Gorbachev's proposal to set up a center for emergency ecological assistance at the United Nations.

Dwelling on the impact of space technology and engineering on progress in various spheres of the national economy, the scientist noted that because of them, aluminum and heat-resistant alloys and ceramic materials have been substantially improved and new methods of tungsten, beryllium, and molybdenum production have been mastered. New structural materials based on aluminum and titanium alloys reinforced with boron and silicon carbide fibers, carbon plastics based on graphite and polymer bonds, heat-reflecting carbon-carbon compositions, and thermoregulating coatings look to have a very promising future.

Experiments studying the possibility of the production of new materials in space conditions and obtaining large pure monocrystals, superconducting alloys, and superpure medical and biological preparations are of great importance for the national economy. According to specialists' estimates, revenue from the production of semiconductors and medical preparations in space may reach R20 billion by the year 2000.

Experiments to test technological processes for obtaining new substances and materials are regularly carried out in our country, both on manned space stations and on the "Photon" automatic craft. The first such craft was put into orbit 14 April 1988. The results of this work are beginning to be used in the interests of the national economy. For instance, the production of experimental models of electronic equipment using semiconductor materials smelted in space furnaces has begun. USSR Ministry of Health clinics are producing highly effective vaccines based on superpure pharmaceutical substances obtained in space. It is planned to increase the volume of Soviet medicines, biological preparations, semiconductors, and other materials produced in space to R3-R5 billion per annum by 1995.

The speaker then reviewed the path covered in 28 years of Soviet manned space travel. He emphasized that the Soviet Union has chosen the creation of permanent manned orbital complexes as the main sphere of the development of near-earth space and had achieved considerable success in this field. At present, the "Mir" complex has fulfilled all the set tasks and a new stage in its exploitation is beginning.

The speaker emphasized the need for the swiftest possible introduction into production of the new developments, materials, technical solutions, and technologies used in the "Energiya-Buran" system. In this respect, he said, U.S. experience provides an object lesson. According to the press the United States spent $24 billion on the "Apollo" program. At the same time U.S. industry made around $300 billion on space patents.

Our main problem, the speaker said, is that we do not know how to convert developments into profit, and that, unfortunately, does not apply just to cosmonautics but also to a number of other national economic sectors. Therefore, establishing an effective system for the utilization of our scientific and practical achievements is a priority task.

The elaboration of new space projects must take place on a sound commercial basis, the speaker said. Developing this thought, he emphasized that there have been many statements of late which question the expediency of the implementation of a number of space projects at the current stage of restructuring, when problems such as the ecological, food, and housing problems, which involve great expenditure, are being tackled. It seems to me, the scientist said, that these statements are based on the low level of our public's information about the development of cosmonautics, priority avenues in this sphere, and the potential for the utilization of its achievements in the national economy. If people were aware that the total economic gain derived from applied cosmonautics last year exceeded by approximately 50 percent its total expenditure, there would be substantially fewer statements to this effect.

In conclusion Academician M.F. Reshetnev focused attention on the problems confronting cosmonautics today.

The meeting participants warmly received a message of cordial congratulations on the holiday transmitted from the "Mir" station by A. Volkov, S. Krikalev, and V. Polyakov.

The meeting was attended by O.S. Belyakov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; leaders of a number of ministries and departments and the USSR Academy of Sciences; and representatives of party and soviet organizations.

Academician on Superconductivity, Cold Fusion

LD1704135789 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 17 TASS—Two recent major discoveries have put mankind on course for another scientific and technological revolution, the vice-president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences believes.

Speaking today at a news conference arranged by the government's Information Department, Academician Konstantin Frolov identified the discoveries, which he said spell a breakthrough in the power industry, as:

—the effect of high-temperature superconductivity discovered two years ago simultaneously in several countries, whereby some ceramic materials conduct electricity without losses at temperatures upwards of minus 90 degrees kelvin,

—and the room-temperature nuclear fusion achieved at Utah University in the United States and repeated several days ago at Moscow University.

High-temperature superconductivity, Frolov said, is no longer a problem of basic research but one of technology. He disclosed in this connection that Soviet scientists have developed materials for a loss-free cable.

They are superconducting ceramics based on yttrium, barium, copper and oxygen and capable of withstanding a current of 800 amperes per square centimetre, a record for such materials.

Soviet experts, Frolov said, have also produced experimental 500-meter lengths of single-core cable superconducting electricity at the temperature of liquid nitrogen.

Asked about the conversion of military technologies to civilian uses, he said that the large potential amassed by the Soviet Union in the field of aircraft and space electronics, automation and controls will be gradually passed on to the nation's transportation services, primarily railways.

"These electronic systems should exclude the possibility of accidents in principle," Frolov said.

Nuclear Society Established, Charter Adopted

LD1804031189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Apr 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The USSR Nuclear Society Constituent Conference took place in Moscow today. [video shows Academician Yeugeniy Pavlovich Velikhov, USSR Nuclear society president, addressing hall]

[Correspondent A. Fedorovich, identified by caption, off-screen] So, another organization, the USSR Nuclear society, has been added to the country's public organizations. Today the conference adopted the society's charter and drafted the program for its activity. The society has many tasks, the main task being to develop the creative activity of all those who work or study in the nuclear science industry. [video shows Fedorovich, Velikhov in a room]

[Fedorovich] So, yet another society has emerged. Yevgeniy Pavlovich, could you please say what main problems, in your view, should the new society solve?

[Velikhov] First of all, in the community—those who dealt with nuclear physics and nuclear power—have had, for many years, the safeguarding of the USSR's security as their main task. That task has been solved, that is nuclear arms have been developed, and now you know that, because of the new international developments, things are progressing toward eliminating these arms. But this is yet a very long road, which should be traveled step by step. The latest step is the halting from our side—Mikhail Sergeyevich's unilateral proposals are very important—of the production of enriched uranium and the closing of two reactors. This, I think, is a very important initiative on the same road, a road toward a nuclear-free world. All our community will play a great role on this road. The issue of nuclear power engineering is acquiring an ever increasing importance. Of course, it is not for the Nuclear Society to decide whether or not nuclear power engineering is needed. But, together with the whole society and the national economy, it should decide what shape nuclear power engineering should take, if it is needed. It looks as if it is needed. The society should unite all those forces, already on a new basis, and should construct the future of nuclear power engineering in the proper way.

Nuclear Power Information Center Opens to Public

LD1504033489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1950 GMT 14 Apr 89

[Text] A center for public information has opened at the interdepartmental council for information and links with the public in the nuclear sphere. Its first information bulletin coincided with Friday's opening at the USSR VDNKh [Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy of the USSR] of a nuclear power pavilion. Nuclear power is acknowledged as an objective necessity throughout the world. Twenty-six countries are currently developing this sector.

Military

Moscow Military District Exercises Continue

LD1704110989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1020 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Dzerzhinsk (Exercise Area), 17 April (TASS)—"The first stage of the military exercise of the Moscow Military District has been completed. The troops of the 'Westerners' and 'Easterners,' as the opposing sides are called, have finished moving up into the areas of concentration," Colonel General Nikolay Kalinin, commander of the troops of the district, who is directing the exercises, told the TASS correspondent today. "The 'Easterners,' having completed a 48-hour march, have entered the starting area for transferring to the offensive. The 'Westerners,' aiming to halt the offensive of the 'opponents,' are creating defensive positions in the direction of his main strike."

Under a document of the Stockholm Conference, the Soviet Union, guided by the interests of strengthening trust and security on the European continent, has given permission to a group of officers of the Italian Armed Forces, headed by Colonel Elvio Maggiore, to carry out an inspection in an area of their choosing. So far, the Italian inspectors have flown by helicopter over the exercise area and spent time with troops where they verified the data on the numbers of troops and technology reported in (?notifications).

A total of 42 observers from 22 countries are to arrive at the exercise area today, including people from 12 NATO countries. They will be observing the troop operations for 3 days.

Education Official on Student Draft Deferments

PM1704095189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Fact and Commentary": "Students and the Army"]

[Text] A USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree has been issued on introducing amendments to the USSR Law "On Universal Military Conscription." Day students at higher educational institutions (VUZ's) have finally been granted a deferment of Army conscription until the completion of their education.

IZVESTIYA has touched on this topical problem more than once, prompted by the numerous letters we receive from students, teachers, and people in the most diverse professions. No one, of course, has objected to young people fulfilling their civic duty of getting trained to defend the fatherland. The concern expressed has to do with how the interruption in studies affects the quality of specialists' training. We asked G.A. Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, to comment on the issue of the decree.

[Yagodin] In the context of the party's present political course and the steps taken by our government to strengthen international cooperation and reduce the Armed Forces, this decision affecting students is a natural one. A deferment of conscription into active military service is now granted to students at all day (non-extramural) VUZ's, rather than just some of them, as has been the case in the past. Graduates of VUZ's and secondary specialized academic institutions, who have undergone instruction in military departments and training courses in the troops and who have passed examinations in military training, will be given the title of officers in reserve without undergoing active military service. The period of active military service has been reduced to 1 year for soldiers, seamen, sergeants, and ranking NCO's [non-commissioned officers] with a higher education. Unfortunately, the new provisions do not apply to those students who were conscripted into Army service before 1 January 1989. They will still have to serve the established term.

It goes without saying that everyone in higher schools is pleased with this event. The disruption between the first and second years used to unsettle students. People had just shaken off their school habits and settled down to independent work, and then they had to go into the Army for 2 or 3 years. A great deal was forgotten, of course. Naturally, VUZ's did their best to help their proteges by assigning teachers and other students to them and organizing additional studies. At the Moscow Engineering Physics Institute, for example, demobilized students were helped to regain their knowledge during the summer months before the start of the semester. In short, everything was done to help these young people. This kind of assistance must certainly be organized for those who have yet to return from the Army, using the best experience in this field. We are now indebted to these young people and they must not be lost to higher education. At least, we must not lose all those who have not changed their minds about studying. The program of military training is being reduced for students returning from the Army. We will endeavor to bring the characteristics of military instruction closer into line with their civilian professions. This approach is already being taken in radio engineering departments, electronic engineering departments, and also in institutions of communications, civil aviation, the Navy, health, and others.

Background Radiation Information Published

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[Report by Lieutenant E. Odzhagov: "One Fewer Secret"]

[Text] Pacific Fleet—Data on the state of background radiation has been made public for the first time in the nuclear submariners' garrison.

For those who serve on nuclear submarines information about the radiation situation at the ships' bases has never been secret. Thus, in the formation where the radiation safety service is headed by Captain First Rank K. Petrov the relevant measurements are taken daily, including in the living area. There is no recorded instance of the background here exceeding the permissible norms. On average it is 5-10 microroentgens an hour. That is absolutely harmless to health.

Nonetheless the majority of the settlement's inhabitants were not officially familiarized with this kind of information. This obviously gave grounds for the occasional emergence of the most improbable rumors. And at meetings with candidate people's deputies the request to tell "the whole truth" about the radiation situation in a given area was frequently heard.

This was recently done by the multiple-issue newspaper published in the nuclear submarine formation. A recent issue gave exhaustive information from specialists of the radiation safety service.

If you consider that the newspaper is distributed freely in the garrison, then it may be said that the shroud of secrecy has been definitively lifted from a "secret" topic.